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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE TRANSACTIONS

OF

HIS MAJESTY'S MISSION

TO THE COURT OF

PERSIA,

IN THE YEARS 1807-11,

BY

SIR HARFORD JONES BRYDGES, BART.
K.C., LL.D.,
LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE COURT OF TÆHERAN.

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TO WHICH IS APPENDED,

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WAHAUBY.

Xa h 2

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

SIRE,

When YOUR MAJESTY graciously condescended to allow a former Volume to bear Your august name, I had the nature of its contents to offer, as an excuse in some sort, for venturing to ask so great a favor: there was little in it really my own, it principally contained a part of the Persian Annals turned into English.

The present Volume is materially different in its composition; and although YOUR MAJESTY has carried Your condescension so far, as to grant me permission to lay it at Your feet; yet, when I reflect how frequently in it I am obliged to mention myself, unbounded as I believe Your kindness of heart to be, I am almost afraid to lay such a Work

before You. But, I shall esteem myself a most happy man, if, whatever may be its deficiencies, it should serve to afford YOUR MAJESTY some amusement at Your hours of leisure, and serve also to manifest that deep and dutiful veneration for the Honor and Character of MY SOVEREIGN, which, as far as I know myself, pervaded every thing I said or did in Persia.

I now, with unfeigned submission, lay the Volume at YOUR MAJESTY'S feet,—and subscribe myself, in all humility, and with the deepest respect,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and most grateful

Subject and Servant,

HARFORD JONES BRYDGES.

AVANT PROPOS.

HAVING already acknowledged, and apologized to my Sovereign, for the egotism which pervades some of the following pages, do not expect, Reader, that I shall repeat the same to you, nor be offended, if I at once declare that His Majesty's gracious permission to lay such a trifle as this Volume, at his feet, renders me perfectly indifferent to all the censures which private or public criticism may think proper to make on it.

But there are remarks I would willingly make to you, Reader, before you enter on the account of the Mission to Persia confided to my care.

First,—That in the account I give of its proceedings, not one single word is set down but what I either know, or believe to be true.

Secondly,—That had I been so minded, I could have multiplied, to a considerable extent, extracts of the praise I received for my conduct during the course of the Mission, from those whose praise might be considered an honor, by persons of much higher rank and ability than myself.

Thirdly,—That I have spoken throughout the whole as tenderly, and complained as little of the annoyance I received from some, and the ingratitude I experienced from

others, as is consistent with the thread of my narrative,—and believe me, gentle reader, this does not proceed from any apprehension, that on pursuing a different method, I might be retorted upon, but purely from that disposition of mind, which I would seriously recommend every man, at my age, to cherish,—namely, to forgive, in order to be forgiven by Him, with whom alone substantial forgiveness rests.

Lastly,—That which I am most anxious to prove to you, is, that if the Persians, as a nation, are accused of being addicted to some heavy vices, they nevertheless possess many, and great virtues. One may allow oneself to smile at some of the pages of Hajee Baba, but it would be just as wise to estimate the national character of the Persians, from the adventures of that fictitious person, as it would be to estimate the national character of the Spaniards, from those of Don Raphael, or his worthy coadjutor, Ambrose de Lamela.

It may be said, our perceptions and taste vary; true;—and I trust I think very humbly and soberly of mine; but knowing the Persians as well as I do, I will boldly say the greater part of their vices originate in the vices of their Government; whilst such virtues as they do possess, proceed from qualities of the mind, which, in all countries, render human nature amiable and agreeable to others, and essentially contribute to make it respectable in ourselves.

THE MISSION.

"I will a round unvarnished tale deliver,
"Of my whole course."

SHAKSPEARE.

"He could speak an equivocal speech, and would fancy
"himself a skilful negociator upon the faith of a doubtful
"sentence, yet in general the feelings of his heart would
"bubble up to the surface unrestrained."

MARY OF BURGUNDY.

THE MISSION.

" Semper ego auditur tantum ? nunquamne reponam,
" Vexatus totics." JUVENAL.

I WAS first appointed to take charge of this Mission in the month of February, 1807, when Lord Howick, now Earl Grey, held the seals of the Foreign Office, and the late Right Hon. George Tierney presided at the Board of Control. Considering the relations which had subsisted between Russia and Persia, and considering also the various positions which latterly Russia and France had assumed towards each other, I suggested to Mr. Tierney the expediency of my proceeding to Persia by way of St. Petersburgh, of which he approved.

Whilst I was resident at Bagdad, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. Charles Richard Vaughan, a gentleman who has since filled, with singular credit to himself, and advantage to his country, various diplomatic situations in Europe and America. This gentleman was my guest for some months at Bagdad, and when he left me, he proceeded into Persia, from whence, until he fell dangerously ill at Reshd in Ghilan,

he regularly furnished me with a variety of interesting and well selected intelligence. He had reached England but a short time before my own arrival, and on meeting him, I was rejoiced to find that he had an inclination to undertake another journey to Persia, and what was of more consequence to me, that he had no disinclination to accept the second place in the Mission. This gave me sincere satisfaction, well knowing that under all circumstances which could happen, I might rely on receiving from him the most useful assistance and counsel, and that in the event of any accident to myself, the public business would be left in hands so honest, so honorable, and so able, that my loss would not be felt.

During my stay at Constantinople, on my way home, I had become acquainted with Mr. James Morier, at the house of his father, the then Consul General. He had lately arrived at Constantinople from Smyrna, where he had been settled in a mercantile partnership with a Mr. Wilkinson of that place. When Mr. Arbuthnot confided to me the charge of his despatches, Mr. Morier wanting to go to England, I gave him a place in my carriage, and franked his passage home: and the civilities I had received from his father, both whilst I resided at Bagdad, and at Constantinople, induced me, as he was out of employment, to accede to his wish of accompanying me to Persia as my private secretary. I made a request there-

fore to Mr. Tierney to that effect, who most obligingly granted it.

The Mission therefore intended to proceed to Persia through Russia, consisted of myself as envoy, Mr. Vaughan as public secretary, and Mr. James Morier as my private secretary. It will be recollected, however, that early in March of that year, whilst every thing for our departure was in an active state of preparation, a change of His Majesty's Counsellors took place. A new administration was then formed under arrangements made by the late Duke of Portland, in consequence of which, the late Mr. Canning was appointed to the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the present Lord Melville to that of President of the Board of India Control.

Several papers connected with the proposed Mission had been delivered to me, and several articles designed for presents had been prepared, and were in my possession; it therefore became my duty to embrace as early an opportunity as was decorous, to present myself to the new President of the Board of Control, and take his orders on the subject of them. Mr. Dundas received me very civilly, desiring me to retain the papers and presents till I heard farther from him.

My constant and warm friend, the late Lord Melville, now arrived from Scotland in London. It was he, when holding the office now filled by his son, who had entrusted to my charge in 1798,

the mission to Bagdad, in performing the duties of which, I was fortunate enough to merit his entire and uniform approbation, so much so, as to induce him to mention me favorably on all occasions, where he thought it might do me service. I therefore took the earliest opportunity of waiting on his lordship after his arrival from Scotland. I had the pleasure of seeing his lordship at his house in Cleveland Row. He received me in the kindest manner, and spoke of my services at Bagdad in such flattering terms, that I can safely say, afforded me the utmost gratification; for at this period of my life, which is now fast drawing to a close, and when whatever wishes I may have felt to advance myself have been disappointed, and are now dead, I always consider it no small honor to have merited (or at least received), unqualified praise from such a statesman as Henry Viscount Melville, and no small happiness to have been admitted to a certain degree of familiar intercourse with him; particularly as he knew the friendship with which I was at the same time honored by some of his political opponents. When I took my leave of his lordship, he kindly made use of these words; "I think so well of you, and your services at Bagdad have been such, that if there is anything in which I can promote your interest, name it, and I shall have pleasure in doing it."

At this time I made no mention to his Lordship of the mission to Persia, nor in what manner I

had been concerned in it, for my greatly respected, and invaluable friend, the late Sir Hugh Inglis, for whose advice, assistance, and friendship, I am under the greatest, and never-to-be-forgotten obligations, as well as the late Sir Francis Baring, were of opinion that it would be more advantageous to me to pursue the regular line of the Company's service, (in which they both assured me they would use all their influence for my advancement to the very best appointments), than to throw myself out of it, by taking charge of a mission to Persia.

It was about the very latter end of April, Mr. Vaughan mentioned to me, that a friend of his had told him, that he was present in a company, where Lord Melville was asked if he had heard anything of a Mission to Persia, and if he knew under whose charge it was to proceed, and that his Lordship answered "Yes, and I wish it had "left England, for it is a very important one, and "it is under charge of Mr. Jones, a better man than "whom, could not have been chosen."

Not long after this was told to me by Mr. Vaughan, I received a note from Mr. Robert Dundas, desiring me to wait on him at the India Board Office, when he informed me that Ministers had determined that I should retain the appointment of envoy to Persia, and that they had also determined, in consequence of representations made by the East India Company, that the mis-

sion, as to all the other members of it, should be new modelled. On receiving this information, I confess my first feelings were to declare I would not undertake a mission of so much delicacy and responsibility, unless I had the power of choosing my private secretary. Before, however, I said anything on this point, it seemed prudent to consult with Sir Hugh Inglis, and Sir Francis Baring. The former appeared inclined to take my own view of the subject; whilst Sir Francis strongly urged the necessity and propriety, as matters had gone so far, of my accepting the appointment, on the terms it was offered, laying much stress on the certainty of my success in Persia, and the future advantage to me, which that success would be fraught with.*

* I see no impropriety now in distinctly saying, both these kind friends assured me, if the mission was successful, that they would, on my return, use their utmost influence and exertions to procure for me the government of Bombay; the present Lord Melville knows that Sir Hugh Inglis, as Chairman of the Company, mentioned this to him in strong terms: and perhaps my Lord may remember the sort of apologetic terms he made use of to me, when he informed me of Sir Evan Nepean's appointment. "We shall be able to pop you in on some future opening." Now the comical part of the story is, that the person whose embassy to Persia to turn out the French, completely failed, had afterwards the Government of Bombay; and that I, whose embassy was completely successful, was not only refused that, but when the narrowness of my circumstances made it convenient to me to ask for employment, I was refused offices, which persons far my juniors in the Company's Civil Service, might have asked for without being ac-

Seeing two of my excellent friends not entirely agreed as to which was the best line of conduct for me to pursue, I repaired to a third (who had long honored me with his advice and good opinion), I mean the late General Fitzpatrick, who, after a long conversation, concluded by saying, "I sincerely wish you had left England whilst we "were in administration, but as from our repeated "and long communications together, I am convin- "ced, whatever difficulties you may meet with, "you will succeed, it is impossible in that case "that any set of men, whether your friends, or "those to whom you are not much known, can "refuse to reward you proportionably to your "deserts." This put an end to all doubt, and in company with Sir Hugh Inglis, I acquainted Mr. Dundas that I was ready to obey the commands of His Majesty's Government.

Shortly after, I waited on the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, at the India House. I was received civilly enough; but I was informed by them, that Ministers had left in their power the nomination of the public and private secretary to the mission, and that it

cused of presumption. Had Henry Viscount Melville, and Sir Francis Baring, lived till I returned, matters would not have gone thus with me: however,—

——"Hoc decus illi
Hoc solamen erat, bellis hoc victor aliibat
Omnibus."

was their intention to appoint to the first, Major Lewis Smith, who had been in the service of some of the native Princes in India, and who had just arrived in England from Bengal; and to the latter, one of their own junior civil servants, who would hereafter be made known to me. This new arrangement, as it regarded Mr. Vaughan, was to him a matter of no importance, but to me it was a matter of the greatest concern; and I well knew, and truly lamented, the loss I sustained of so amiable and able a coadjutor. The case, as far as it respected Mr. Morier, was totally different, to whom, to retain the situation to which he had been appointed, was a matter of great importance; and for him, at his own instance, and that of his friends, I determined to fight as stiff a battle as possible.

My first object was to see Lord Melville, to whom I freely stated how much I was cast down by the arrangement which had been communicated to me at the India House, and frankly told him, that unless I was permitted to choose my own private secretary, he would oblige me if he would, in the manner most proper, and least offensive, convey to Mr. Dundas my wish to resign the appointment of Envoy to Persia. His Lordship condescended to say he felt very strongly for my situation, and spake at the same time in the highest terms of Mr. Vaughan; but added, as the East India Company "pay the piper," and Government

appoint the Envoy, it was thought but fair the Company should have the appointment of the two secretaries.

His Lordship however was good enough to say he would speak strongly on the subject to Mr. Robert Dundas; and that perhaps if I made a good battle at the India House, I might be able also to retain Mr. Morier. This ultimately, after much solicitation, and at the expense of receiving some peevish expressions from the Chairmen, I effected.

It was impossible there could be a more amiable person than Major Smith, and as he knew the Persian language well, and spoke it fluently, I should have been extremely happy to have received him as private secretary, but the service in which he had been employed in India, the rank of which, as compared either with that of His Majesty's, or of the Company's service, the Persians could not fail to be acquainted with, made him in my judgment, by no means a proper person to hold the second rank in a mission, which was for the first time to enter that country directly from the King.

The political events which took place since the beginning of March, caused all idea of the mission proceeding through Russia to be abandoned as early as the end of April, and as the effects of those events were gradually developing themselves, His Majesty's Ministers fixed various periods for its departure, which were repeatedly postponed

and changed. Early in the month of August, His Majesty was graciously pleased to confer on me the dignity of Baronet of Great Britain, which Lord Melville, in a letter to Sir Hugh Inglis,* told me to consider as a reward for my services at Bagdad, and for the effort I had made, by crossing the Baltic in an open boat in the dead of winter, to bring home Mr. Adair's and the King of Prussia's despatches. This was confirmed to me by Mr. Secretary Canning, when I kissed His Majesty's hands for the honor conferred on me.

As soon as the Mission was finally arranged at the India House, I was desired to purchase any further articles which I thought might be acceptable to the King of Persia as presents. In such matters I had had pretty fair experience during my long residence at Bussora and Bagdad, and my different visits to Persia; and I had uniformly found presents in money were always the most acceptable, because neither the presenter, nor the presented, could possibly estimate their value differently. And I always found that presents so made, were in the end the least expensive to my employers, or to myself, because there was no

* In this letter, Henry Viscount Melville distinctly said, if I succeeded in Persia, he would exert all his influence to procure me the appointment of Governor of Bombay; and when my success was communicated to his Lordship, and that I had tendered my resignation, and requested leave to return to England, his Lordship emphatically said to Sir Hugh Inglis, "this is the only false step he has taken in the business."

profit paid to a mechanic for workmanship. I had no fear of wounding the Persian delicacy, for I knew, from the intimacy which had long subsisted between myself and some of the principal Persian Ministers, that I could, when on the spot, obtain the loan of any valuable articles from them, to make the *ostensible present*, which after being carried in form to the King, should be returned to me, and the amount of the *peishcush* or present afterwards sent in money. By this means, the Company would probably save a full quarter, as well as the charge of commission, paid to the merchants by some of my predecessors.

Being in London, and having nothing to do, it happened one day that I went into Phillips's the auctioneer in Bond Street, when a large brilliant diamond was offered for sale, for which the biddings were so low, that it was bought in. It was a jewel of no common magnitude, and after Phillips had left his desk, I had the curiosity to enquire to whom it belonged, and was told that the proprietor was the representative of the late William Hornby, Esq. formerly governor of Bombay; and that the very respectable house of Bruce, Fawcett, and Co. had the disposal of the stone for that gentleman.

With the history of this diamond I had long been acquainted, and it may not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader to learn something of it.

This stone was brought out of Persia by some Armenians to Bombay in the year 1779, from

which, I conclude it to be one of those royal jewels which fell into private hands in the confusion which took place at Schyras, on the death of Kesim Khan. From these Armenians it was purchased by an Armenian lady at Bombay, of the name of Cross, but whose more frequent and better known appellation was Madame Pompone. Mr. Hornby was at that time governor of Bombay, and the East India Company then allowed their civil servants the privilege of trading on their own account, so that Mr. Hornby was not only the first in dignity and authority, but also the first and greatest merchant at Bombay. To him Madame Pompone exhibited her splendid purchase, and offered at the same time to sell it. The purchase was soon concluded by Mr. Hornby and the late Mr. David Scott, at the price of something like £21,000. In the year 1782, the late Mr. H., son-in-law to Mr. Hornby, proceeded from Bombay to England by way of Bassora, and to this gentleman's care Mr. Hornby entrusted the diamond, with directions on his arrival in England to deliver it to the late John Hunter, Esq. an East India Director. The extraordinary part of the business is, that Mr. Hornby never communicated to Mr. H. the nature and value of his charge, and Mr. H. not being able to see Mr. Hunter immediately on his arrival, left the packet in a house where he had slept the first night of his arrival, and from whence, contrary to what might have been expected, he was fortunate enough to recover it.

The form of this diamond does not equal its water and color: with its water no serious fault can be found, and its tinge or color is that which is never considered by jewellers to deteriorate the value of a diamond—I mean a slight shade of pink when placed in certain lights: the form is what the oriental jewellers call an irregular circle, but capable of being much improved if the stone were submitted to new cutting and some loss of substance. Could a purchaser have been found for it, it ought, according to the late Mr. Jeffries' tables, every allowance being made, to have been sold for between £24,000, and £25,000.

No such purchaser however did present himself in England, and as the Empress of Russia, Catherine, had not long before purchased from an Armenian the great diamond known by the Koo-i-Noor or Mountain of Light, which had also been clandestinely carried out of Persia subsequently to the murder of Nadir Shah; it was considered not improbable, she might wish to become possessed of this also. With this view, Mr. Hunter made a journey to Petersburgh, but whether he estimated the diamond too high, or the jewel did not please the Empress, he returned with it unsold to England, where it remained till the period I am speaking of. Mr. Scott, not long after Mr. Hornby purchased it, sold his share of the jewel to Mr. Hornby, whose representative was now the sole proprietor.

Those who have dealt in precious stones are well aware it seldom happens that diamonds of the magnitude of the one in question, purchased even at a very favorable price, can be so readily disposed of again as to prevent the interest of money invested from absorbing the profit when the gem is resold: but in the instance before us, the gentlemen who purchased this diamond of Madame Pompone, gave so high a price for it, as to lead one to imagine they trusted to an immediate resale, in which however they were sadly disappointed; and I calculate that when the stone was put to auction at Phillips's, its cost to the proprietor had been as follows;—viz. prime cost £21,000, twenty-six years interest at 5 per cent. £27,000, total £48,000.

After a conversation with Mr. Fawcett, the jewel was directed to be held at my orders, and the following arrangement respecting it was concluded between myself and that gentleman; that on my leaving London to embark for Persia, it should be delivered to me to put into the hands of Captain Davies on freight; that on my arrival in India, it should be lodged in the hands of Messrs. Bruce's firm at Bombay, and that on my departure from thence to Persia, it should be delivered to me to take with me at the risk of the proprietor, until parted with, and that the terms of parting with it should be entirely left to my discretion. The reader will by and by hear more of this jewel.

On the 27th of October, 1807, His Majesty's Sloop of War, of 24 guns, the Sapphire, Captain George Davies, sailed from Portsmouth, with instructions to convey myself, and the gentlemen attached to the Mission, first to Bombay, and from thence to Bushire, in the Gulf of Persia.

The passage to Madeira, if not a remarkable, was at least a very favourable one, for, on the eighth day, in the morning, I landed at Funchal, the Sapphire having, late in the preceding evening, anchored in the road. The passage from Madeira to the Cape was not proportionably good, and our arrival at Bombay, from the difficulty we experienced from not keeping enough to the southward, to make our casting between the Cape and India, was protracted to the 26th of April, 1808, when I learnt, that in consequence of the great delay that had taken place in my arrival, Brigadier-General Malcolm, had been appointed by Lord Minto, the then Governor-General of India, to proceed to Tæheran, as his Envoy, and that he had just sailed for Persia; indeed, whilst the Sapphire was working into Bombay Harbour, some of the vessels composing part of his fleet, were to be seen standing to the northward, on their course to the Gulf. I was told from good authority, that the Sapphire's evening gun, on the night preceding her arrival, was distinctly heard at Bombay.*

I had long been, not only in official, but the

* Mr. Duncan, the Governor, mentioned this to me.

most friendly correspondence with Mr. Duncan, at that time Governor of Bombay, and I was received by him in a manner the most hospitable, and which gave me the greatest pleasure.

It was certainly untoward enough to reflect that General Malcolm should have departed with the Sapphire almost in sight; but the information I received from Mr. Duncan, respecting the state of the French Mission, and of our affairs in Persia, made me consider it my duty not to interfere in any shape with the step General Malcolm had taken, but patiently to await the result of it at Bombay. As it was evident some months must elapse before this could be known, I was desirous, as soon as possible, to communicate to the Governor-General, not only my arrival in India, but the resolution I had taken, of suspending for the present my departure to Persia. And to render this communication as respectful as possible to his Lordship, I sent my dispatches to him, under the care of the public secretary to the Mission, Major Smith. In answer to this communication I received from Lord Minto the most flattering commendation, on the *wisdom, propriety, and disinterestedness* of my conduct.

General Malcolm, after some little negociation at Bushire, between himself and the Persian ministers, determined to withdraw from Persia; and sailed from Bushire direct to Calcutta. As soon as the intelligence of this reached the Gover-

nor-General, he wrote to me overland, urging me *in the most earnest manner* to proceed to Persia *with as little delay as possible.*

Fortunately for me it so happened that H. M. ship La Nereide, Captain Corbett, which had been employed in the River Plata on the memorable expedition under the command of General Whitelock, had grounded in that river, and was supposed to have received so much damage as to require going into dock: this accommodation could not be afforded her at the Cape, and therefore Captain Corbett had brought her to Bombay; and Sir Edward Pellew, being on the Coromandel coast, her gallant Captain became senior King's naval officer at Bombay. Understanding my wish of proceeding to Persia immediately, Captain Corbett was so good as to offer La Nereide for myself and a part of the Mission; an offer I was delighted to accept. In seven days therefore, from receiving Lord Minto's letter, I embarked on board La Nereide, and she, with the Sapphire, and a very small vessel belonging to the Company, called the Sylph, sailed out of Bombay harbour for Persia on the 12th September, 1808.

The Mission then consisted of the following persons:—Myself, Envoy; Major Smith, public Secretary, absent at Calcutta; Mr. James Morier, private Secretary; Mr. Thomas Henry Sheridan, Political Assistant; Captain James Sutherland, Surveyor; Cornet Willock, who had been attached

to General Malcolm's Mission, but left by him at Bombay; and a native Persian Secretary recommended to me by Mr. Duncan.

On the 14th October, 1808, La Nereide and the Sapphire anchored in Bushire roads, and by my desire, Mr. Bruce, the East India Company's resident at that port, came to me on board La Nereide. After a long conversation with him he returned on shore that night, to settle with the Governor of the town (whom I had known from a youth) some preliminaries regarding my reception on shore next day, all which, in the present state of things, I deemed necessary to have arranged before I left La Nereide; and very early on the following morning, I had the pleasure to receive a communication from Mr. Bruce, that whatever I had demanded in this respect, had been most readily granted. In the course of the day Shaik Abdul Resoul, and the principal merchants of the town, came on board La Nereide to compliment me on my arrival, and towards mid-day, under a salute from both of H. M. ships, the gentlemen of the Mission and myself proceeded on shore, accompanied by the governor, and the persons who had attended him on board La Nereide. As Captain Corbett never wasted that, which on the public or any other service, is most valuable, I mean time, he was desirous of returning to India immediately after I landed. Hasty dispatches therefore, for India and England, merely stating that the Mission

had landed, and was well received, were prepared and delivered to him; and in the course of the evening, I parted from my gallant, high-minded honorable friend, alas! never to meet again!

I am aware that the necessity and even the propriety of the strict discipline which he maintained on board his ship, has not only been questioned, but his conduct severely censured; and though I at once profess myself incompetent to offer an opinion on the subject, still I have sailed often enough on board H. M. ships of war, to observe, that, not only the general temper, disposition, and habits of their several crews varied, but that the state of perfection to which they had arrived, in the performance of the seaman's duty, differed; and I can scarcely imagine that the loudest of Captain Corbett's censurers in this respect, will go the length of asserting, that a raw ill-disposed crew can be treated in the same manner as a crew of veterans, well trained and well disposed, can, and ought to be. Therefore, till these gentlemen chuse to affirm, which of these two descriptions of men Captain Corbett had to deal with, all their unkind observations on the memory of that brave man, must, with unprejudiced minds, go for nothing. It is enough for me to bear testimony as an eye witness, whilst on board La Nereide, to the tenderness of heart, benevolence, and earnest attention to their comfort, which were daily, without the smallest ostentation, manifested by Captain Cor-

bett towards the sick: and, I can safely say, if when well, he treated his crew as a strict commander, when any of them were ill, he treated them more like beloved children, than any thing else.

This gallant man had a fixed opinion, that the superiority of our navy over that of other countries, arose principally from the superiority of the discipline we maintained in it; and when a sort of mutiny was apparent in La Nereide's crew at Bombay; and I was cautioned even by Mr. Duncan, as to what might be the effect of it, on the passage up the Gulph; the following words made a part of his address to all hands, who were turned upon deck, almost instantly after the ceremony of receiving me on board was finished:—"Gentlemen, "I find you have indirectly, and in no very proper "manner, complained to the civil authorities on "shore, of the treatment you receive on board His "Majesty's ship under my command. For my part, "I shall be glad if any of you will bring me before "my proper tribunal, a court-martial; and I here "promise you, before a person invested with the "representation of our common Sovereign, that "when this voyage is finished, I will afford to "such as may be desirous of doing this, every "facility in my power. In the meantime, I tell "you plainly, as long as we sail together, by G—d, "I will keep you strictly to your duty, and that "it is a matter of perfect indifference to me,

" whether I lose my life in supporting what I con-
" sider to be the proper and necessary discipline
" of our service, or whether I lose it in battle, it
" will be as well lost for the interests of my king
" and country, in the one case as in the other."
The effect of this speech may be judged of by the circumstance of a gruff voice rising from amongst the seamen, as they were shuffling from the deck, uttering most audibly, " Well said, old iron-bound, by G—d!"

In the exercise of his principle of discipline, Corbett never shewed any respect to persons, an instance of which I was one day witness to. As he and I, after dinner, were walking the quarter-deck, the weather being extremely hot, Mr. Sheridan had seated himself on the carriage of one of the quarter-deck carronades. Corbett, on perceiving it, went up to him, and said, " My dear
" Sir, forgive me, but if His Majesty had intended
" the quarter-deck of his ship to be made a draw-
" ing room, *he, no doubt,* would have commanded
" it to have been furnished with chairs and velvet
" cushions, for the use of his officers and their
" friends." I confess it struck me as no common proof of the great good sense, good temper, and amiable disposition, which my friend Sheridan so eminently possessed, that instead of receiving this rather abrupt address with displeasure, and starting off below, he joined Corbett and myself, and told the former, with a smile, " that if, at any future

" time, His Majesty should order cushions for the " quarter-deck of La Nereide, he hoped he should " be consulted as to the fringes, because he con- " sidered himself to possess an exquisitely good " taste in those articles."

The smallest thing out of its place, or not adjusted *au point*, made Corbett irritably uneasy; and his eye was constantly roving above or below over every part of the ship, to see that all was right. It happened, one day, that I came into the cabin, whilst Corbett was in one of the quarter galleries, and though the door was open, I was not aware that he was there, nor was he aware that I was in the cabin. I began to read, and in a little time, was much amused and surprised to hear Captain Corbett utter, pretty loud, the following exclamation:—" Well, old Nereide, let them say what they " will of thee, thou art a beautiful beast, by G—d."

Corbett had a great passion for an opportunity being afforded him to fight La Nereide, which carried twelve pounders, against a French frigate, carrying eighteen pounders, and he appeared to have no doubt about the result of the engagement being in his favor. Just before La Nereide sailed for the Gulf of Persia, there had been on the coast, to the northward of Bombay, a French frigate of this description, and she escaped being brought to action by Capt. Foote, in consequence of his carrying away the foretopmast of his frigate in the chace. It was by

no means certain that this vessel had left the coast, and Corbett's first question in the morning was, "any sail in sight?" and his last wish at night, that we might fall in with this French frigate. This idea had taken such possession of his mind, that frequently, in the course of each day, he exclaimed to me; "I wish we may fall in with the "Frenchman. I will then either do what has not "yet been done in the navy, or go to the bottom." Never thinking, that though this, to him, whose trade was fighting, might be very agreeable, yet, to me, whose trade was writing, it was by no means a consummation devoutly to be wished.

I lament having to add, that Capt. Corbett lost his valuable life in an action off the island of Bourbon, with two French frigates, and as I cannot find any account of this most remarkable and gallant action given in *Dodsley's Annual Register*, I extract the following from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for the years 1810-11.

"Captain Rowley arrived at St. Paul's, about "the same time the enemy arrived off Bourbon, "waiting for a reinforcement, but not anticipating "any certain succour which might afford him "adequate means to check the effrontery of the "enemy, to clear the British port from molesta-"tion, and to drive him once more within his own "seas. On the 12th of September, within two "days after his return to the island, under the "mortifying circumstances explained, the com-

" modore had the good fortune to hear of the " arrival at St. Denis, of H.M. frigate, the Africaine, " from England, under the command of Captain " Corbett. The Boadicea was immediately pre- " pared for sea, and accompanied by the other " sloop of war and Staunch gun brig, proceeded " to join the Africaine, for the purpose of attack- " ing the French frigates, which stood off to sea, " with a fresh breeze to the eastward, as soon as " the British force was discovered. The enemy's " ships had the advantage of the wind; the En- " glish division being subjected, from their relative " situation, to light baffling airs. The Africaine, " experiencing after a short interval a favorable " but partial breeze, came before the fall of the " evening close to the enemy, and lost not sight " of him in any part of the night, maintaining, " during the chace, a communication with the " Boadicea by means of night signals.

" Captain Corbett, before it was dark, had mani- " fested so much superiority in sailing, that he " thought himself justified in shortening sail within " gun shot of the enemy, apparently with a view " of the Boadicea's coming up. The Boadicea, " who was a bad sailer, was several miles astern, " and the gallant and impetuous spirit of Captain " Corbett did not allow him to wait for her coming " up, for he saw if he did so, the enemy would in " the meantime escape. He resolved, therefore, " to attack both, with his single frigate, and he

" ran up at three o'clock in the morning, and " opened a heavy fire on each. The action con- " tinued with great fury for some time: the En- " glish fire made dreadful carnage with the enemy; " but at length the masts of the Africaine went " by the board. Captain Corbett was killed, and " every man on deck, except three, being either " killed or wounded, and the ship being at the " same time reduced to an unmanageable wreck, " struck her colors, and was taken possession of " by the enemy.

" During this unequal conflict, Commodore " Rowley made every effort to join the Africaine, " but the two French frigates had suffered so " severely in the action with the Africaine, that " they had no inclination to renew the battle with " the Boadicea; on her approach, they left their " prize to be taken possession of by Commodore " Rowley, and made off with all possible dispatch " to the Isle of France, to refit the damages they " had sustained in their action with the Africaine. " They were both much crippled, and owed their " escape entirely to the heaviness of the Boadicea's " sailing. The Africaine landed 120 wounded at " St. Paul's, and she had 50 killed outright in the " action."

The manner of my poor friend's death was reported to me after my return to England, by the father of one of the gentlemen midshipmen who was fortunate enough to escape suffering in the

dreadful carnage. In the early part of the action, Captain Corbett was twice wounded, but would not quit the quarter-deck; he afterwards received a wound, so very serious in its nature, as to disable him from remaining longer on deck, and he was carried below to have his wounds dressed, and be laid in his cot. When the colors were struck, this young gentleman was sent below to Captain Corbett for his sword, that it might be delivered to the French officer who came on board to take possession of the vessel. When this person came to the side of his captain's cot, he found him with his uniform sword lying by him on his cot, over which were hanging two fancy swords, one of which had been presented to him in testimony of former gallant conduct. Understanding what was required of him, and notwithstanding the agony he was in, Corbett contrived, as his cot swung near the port, to throw his uniform sword into the sea; then told the young gentleman to take which of the other swords he pleased, tore the dressings from his wounds, and bled to death. If this be not an instance of "the ruling passion "strong in death," I know not what is.

> Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparibile tempus
> Omnibus est vitæ—*sed famam extendere factis*
> *Hoc virtutis opus est.*

To return to the Mission,—I was now fairly embarked in the prosecution of that which had for so many months occupied my thoughts, and

embarked in it under circumstances of more awful responsibility than I had originally contemplated. The information I obtained at Bombay of the proceedings of General Malcolm, was by no means so full as it might have been, and I had but a very hasty sight of a very long paper which he had delivered to the Persian ministry, under the form and title of a Declaration, on the contents and necessity of which I am obliged to say, I differed in opinion with the General; but reflecting on the position in which I was placed, it appeared to me the wisest course I could adopt, would be to give my proceedings as much as possible the appearance of agreement with his, instead of acting as I should have done, had I commenced my negociation with the Persian ministers under other circumstances, and unfettered by these considerations.

It became incumbent upon me therefore to ascertain precisely what was the opinion of the Court, and Persians in general, as to the intentions with which General Malcolm had returned to India; and I soon found it to be, that he departed from Bushire with the design of prevailing on the Governor-General to place a large force under his command, with which he might return, and by means of it, force the King to renounce the connection it was said he had formed with the French; and in addition to this, I found that the Persians generally believed, that one of the unfortunate princes of the Zend family, then living at

Bombay, was to accompany this armament, and if necessary, to employ himself in rallying the friends of his family in the southern parts of the empire. Such assuredly was the opinion of the Persians, and such assuredly placed me in no very pleasant situation. I cheered myself, however, with the reflection that I was now within reach of communication with some very old and steady friends, whom I was quite certain, would represent every measure I took, in the most favorable light;—would, in all cases of difficulty, give me valuable and disinterested advice;—and would, on all occasions, give me information, from the best and surest sources to which they had access.

There was at this time living in exile at Bushire, Abdullah Aga, a Turk, who had for some years been Governor of Bussora, and afterwards, during my residence at Bagdad of Merdin; through the whole of which time, a very intimate correspondence and friendship, as long as Suleiman Paçha lived, subsisted between us. The great abilities of this gentleman were highly valued both at Constantinople and Taheran, and his probity, honesty, and humanity, had rendered him exceedingly beloved and dear to all the inhabitants of the cities and countries under the Governments of Bussora and Merdin. In consequence, he became an object of great jealousy to Ally Paçha, the successor of Suleiman, who had, unsuccessfully, attempted to seize him; whilst the esteem in which

he was held by the King of Persia and his ministers, was so great, that he was consulted by them in all their transactions of importance with the Court of Constantinople.

This gentleman was so kind as to visit me on board La Nereide; and on the morning after I landed at Bushire, paid me another visit at the factory house in the country, at which he expressed a desire to converse with me in private. As soon as we were alone, I was rejoiced to find he had a letter for me, from my old and powerful friend Meerza Bozurg; but on opening it, I was as much disappointed, to perceive it contained nothing more than commonplace compliments, and assurances of the pleasure he should receive in seeing me again, provided such "should be our fortune," (*nasseeb.*) I suspect that my countenance on reading this letter, betrayed disappointment, for Abdullah Aga, with a very particular tone and manner, said, "but the "letter is not the whole I have for you from "Meerza Bozurg,—I have a message also—it is "short but very important:—'lose no time in let-"'ting me know, through Abdullah Aga, your "'plans and wishes—it will be your own fault if "'you are not admitted to the presence; and as "'you have many and strong friends, particularly "'amongst several merchants who have great in-"'fluence, it will also be your own fault if you "'do not succeed. I might have been appointed "'to negociate with you, but, as in that case, I

" 'should have deprived myself of rendering you
" 'many services when occasions offer, I declined it.
" 'The children whom you left children at Schyras,
" 'are become men; one of them is minister to the
" 'Prince Royal, and nothing concerning your
" 'Mission will be concluded, without the prince's
" 'knowledge and concurrence. Whatever hap-
" 'pens, keep your temper till you reach Tæheran,
" 'and push on as quick as you can.' "

In the course of a day or two, I received a letter from Mahommed Nebee Khan, who was then at Schyras; and as this person appeared in India as an envoy from the King of Persia, to the Governor-General, the reader will not find fault with me, I hope, if I give some account of my connection with him.

Immediately after my arrival at Bussora, in the year 1784, I determined to commence studying Persian; but to find any one willing to become my preceptor was difficult; and to find one, either at Bassora or Bushire, who spoke the language with purity, and who possessed a decent knowledge of Persian literature, was much more difficult. I visited Schyras, for the first time, in 1786, and both on my way there, and on my return, I made some stay at Bushire; during that time I became well acquainted with a merchant named Hajee Kheleel, who afterwards was appointed envoy to the Bengal Government, on the part of the King of Persia; and who most unfortunately lost his life in an affray at Bombay, on his way to Calcutta.

Mohammed Nebee Khan's mother had formerly been protected by Mr. Douglas, chief, for some time, of the factory at Gombroon, and afterwards of that at Bussora. By this gentleman she had a daughter, who, in course of time, became heiress to Mr. Douglas's fortune, and who, after being educated in England, married an English gentleman, of rank and great respectability.

On the decease of Mr. Douglas, the mother, who was originally a pyrist or worshipper of fire, was persuaded to change her religion, and to marry a very respectable merchant at Bushire, named Aga Cutchuk, by whom she had Mohammed Nebee; a daughter, married to Hajee Kheleel; and several other children. Some unlucky speculations in trade, had, before his decease, reduced Aga Cutchuk to very narrow circumstances, and a very principal part of the support of the widow and her children, was derived from remittances made to the family, from England, by her very amiable daughter above alluded to.

To Hajee Kheleel I had applied to procure me a moonshee, or preceptor, in Persia, and he recommended Mohammed Nebee to me, who was an exceedingly amiable, well-informed young man, and what is much prized among the Persians, wrote a most beautiful hand. The allowances I then received from the East India Company,* did

* At this time, and for *the fourteen years* I served them at Bassora, I never received from them more than 150 rupees per month, or £169. 1s. 9*d.* per annum, amounting, in 14 years, to the sum of

not permit me to give Mohammed Nebee a better salary than thirty rupees per month; but his brother-in-law promised to help this out, by constituting him his commercial agent at Bussora, in which capacity he was to receive a low commission on goods consigned to him. We, therefore, when I left Bushire, returned to Bussora together. Mohammed Nebee's good temper, and good conduct, soon procured him many friends; and, not long after his joining me, a large concern in vessels, to sail between Bengal and the Persian Gulf, was established, between Hajee Kheleel at Bushire, a Portuguese merchant (Signor Philip da Cruz), residing at Calcutta, and Mr. Manesty and myself, at Bussora. This connexion very naturally brought Mohammed Nebee in contact with me in another character besides that of Persian preceptor; and when, in 1794, I left Bussora to proceed to England, I parted from him, established as one of the first merchants of the place, and greatly respected by the Turkish government for sagacity and good conduct. As I had a real friendship for him, I observed with concern, that as his wealth increased, it was accompanied with a strong passion for interfering in Government speculations, and political intrigue;—a passion, which, whatever brilliant and illusive prospects it may present at its outset, I have never known any Oriental merchant pursue, without its ending

£2,367. 0s. 6d.' and, at a very low calculation, I am confident, within that period, that I must have paid them 7,000*l.* in customs.

either in his ruin or destruction, and in many instances in both. And my reader will easily conceive this must be the case, when he is told that it is an invariable rule with all Oriental Governments, to consider the wealth of the merchants who transact any business for them, as entirely proceeding from the very lucrative contracts they are thus enabled to make; and that, therefore, no injustice or wrong is committed, when the Government calls them to a severe account, and, under this pretence, deprives them of all, or the greater part, of their property.

When I arrived at Bagdad in 1798, I found the bark of Mohammed Nebee's fortune had proceeded with a most prosperous gale, and that both his wealth and reputation were exceedingly augmented; but I also learnt, not without much regret, that he was principally and deeply engaged in politico-mercantile speculations, both at Bussora and in Persia. An Oriental diplomatist always, either secretly or openly, combines the ill-agreeing characters of *celchee* and *tanjar*—that is, merchant and ambassador; and to this rule, as far as I know, the Turks form the only exception. Hajee Kheleel had now become, confessedly, the greatest merchant at Bushire; and the commerce he carried on was principally connected with India. When a Mission in return for General Malcolm's Mission, was to be sent from Persia to India, Hajee Kheleel immediately saw the immense advantage it would be to him to be re-

ceived in India in the character of the King of Persia's Envoy. His communications and concerns with the Persian Government, and his reputation for wealth and ability, easily procured him an order for his appearance at court; and the King was soon glad to find a person who would undertake the Embassy to India, with no further demand on himself or his treasury, than to receive the empty title of Khan, a court dress, a permission to wear a *jeka*, or piece of jewellery, in his cap, and some sets of horse furniture. The deplorable termination of these his projects of ambition, and increase of power and wealth, which took place at Bombay, may serve, if rightly read, as an instance, if instances were wanting, how frequently those things which we most passionately and ardently desire, may, by God's good providence, be beneficially denied to our prayers.

When Hajee Khelcel expired at Bombay, he left, by the sister of Mohammed Nebee, an only son, who was a minor, at Bushire; and he also left a widow, a Turkish lady at Bussora, whom he had married in one of his mercantile visits to that place. In Persia, Mohammed Nebee found no difficulty in getting himself acknowledged as the guardian of his nephew, and the executor of his brother-in-law; but there was property belonging to Khelcel, to a considerable amount lying in the warehouses at Bussora, the control over which the Turks seemed inclined to dispute with Mohammed Nebee, in consequence of the representa-

tions of Fatima, the Turkish widow, who was a lady of very great beauty, but still greater turbulence of spirit and knowledge of intrigue. This lady, however, was by some means or other persuaded to give her hand in third nuptials (for she had first been married to Hajee Eusoof, the Capoutan Paçha) to Mohammed Nebee, and from that moment, the Bussora government ceased to interfere, and Mohammed Nebee commenced his intrigues at Tæheran, for the embassy to India.

Considering to what point the embassy of Hajee Khelecl had arrived, there might be good policy, or there might be a necessity, that it should be carried to its close by his executor. Be this, however, as it may, Mohammed Nebee proceeded to Tæheran, and received the title of Khan, and his credentials to India, on the same terms as his late brother-in-law had formerly received them. If I am asked how I know this, I reply because he told me so. If I am asked what these terms were, I answer from the same authority, that the king of Persia was to be at no further charges on account of this mission, than those which have been already enumerated. The expense of the mission, and the advantage the ambassador was to derive from it, were, the one to be paid, and the other to be made from the ambassador being allowed to import and export throughout the British territories in India large quantities of merchandize duty free, and from the splendid allowance the ambassador expected, and actually

did draw, from our government. The expensive scale on which General Malcolm's mission had passed through Persia, had effected one thing most assuredly; and if it gave the Persians an idea of our boundless wealth, it gave them, at the same time, an idea of the facility, not to use a harsher word, with which we parted with that wealth. As an instance of this, whilst Mohammed Nebee was with me at Bagdad, on his way to India, he seriously consulted me, whether on the day on which he was to pay a visit of ceremony to Mr. Duncan, the governor at Bombay, it would not be proper for him to apply to our government for a sufficient supply of gold or silver wherewith to shoe the horses used in his procession, stating it, at the same time, to be his intention, that these shoes should be so lightly fastened, that they might from time to time drop off, and be scrambled for by the spectators.

Now, notwithstanding appearances were in favor of my success, I could not but be aware that I did not yet stand on firm ground, and that except my own old personal friends at Schyras and Bushire, and my great pillar of confidence, Meerza Bozurg, the public officers who arrived from the former to the latter place, affected in their behaviour to shew me that I was to esteem their visits and notice as a favor, and consequently, that I was to submit without complaint to any want of respect or deviation from proper ceremony, which they might choose to practice.

This was a matter which, on many accounts, it was absolutely necessary to check *in principio*; and, accordingly, I determined to seize on the very first opportunity of giving some one of them a lesson, conveyed in strong terms, that I would not permit such conduct on their part to pass with impunity.

The intrigues which had been carrying on for some time at Schyras by Mohammed Nebee Khan, and his brother, Mohammed Jaafer, at Bushire, against Shaik Abd-ul-Refoul, the son of Shaik Nassir, had now prevailed so far, that an officer of some rank was sent to arrest the shaik, and carry him prisoner to Schyras. By false promises and treachery, this officer effected the purpose of his mission; and, as the prince at Schyras, thought the English might be alarmed at the seizure of the governor of a place with which our intercourse was so intimate and frequent, he sent me a declaratory firman, addressed to that officer, and requested me to deliver it into his hands, and require him to read it publicly in my presence.

In consequence of this, I notified to him a time for the performance of his commission. The officer was to return to Schyras, and therefore a better subject, or a more proper time for my purpose, could not have presented themselves; but besides all this, he fortunately put the game entirely into my hands.

Before delivering the Prince's firman to him, I

stated my dissatisfaction at the formula in which the Prince had addressed me, telling him, that as the immediate representative in Persia of my sovereign, I could not suffer it to be continued; and laying down broadly and plainly, the only terms on which I would receive either the visits or the communications of the Persian ministers and noblemen. I then gave him the firman, when, to my utter astonishment, after receiving the instrument with the accustomed marks of respect to his Prince's mandates, he said the room was very hot, and with perfect nonchalance, most indecently and unceremoniously took off his cap, commenced wiping his bald head with no very clean handkerchief, and then proceeded to read, *sotto voce*, the contents of the firman. Now, in Persia, baring the head in company, would be considered as the very acme of disrespect; I therefore said:—"Pray does the firman from the "Prince, which I have just put into your hands, "and which you are reading in so slovenly a "manner, direct you to insult me by an act, which, "had you dared to commit even in the presence "of your equals, there would not have been one "of them who would have hesitated to rise and "kick you out of the room; and I do assure you, "I am only prevented doing so, by your being an "officer of the Prince;—or does this proceed from "your own want of education or bad manners? "Tell me, sir, I say distinctly, am I thus affronted

" by order of the Prince, or does such an unheard-
" of act of incivility, arise solely from your brutal
" self? Answer me these questions immediately,
" for if the Prince have ordered me to be thus
" treated, I will not rest to-night before I dispatch
" a messenger to Tæheran, to demand satisfaction;
" and if it be to you sir alone, I owe it, a messenger
" shall be sent off instantly to the Prince, to com-
" plain, in the strongest terms I can use, of your
" misbehaviour." I now copy out of Mr. Sheridan's private journal, which came into my hands after his lamented death, the conclusion of this scene. " The Khan at first pretended not to hear
" Sir Harford's questions, but on their being
" sternly and loudly repeated, he blushed up to the
" ears, looked like a fool, very humbly begged Sir
" Harford's pardon, and as humbly entreated him
" not to notice to the Prince what had taken
" place." After this, I had not again occasion to complain of incivility in my guests, and the dispatches received afterwards, both from the Prince and his ministers, were perfectly guarded in their address and expressions.

On Sunday, the 13th November, I received from the British agent at Schyras, Jaaffer Ally Khan, the intelligence, that the Prince had appointed a Mehmandar to wait on me from Bushire to Schyras, and that on my arrival there, I should find the official invitation from the King and his ministers to continue my journey to the presence. I received, at the same time, a private

from Jaafer Ally, of which, Mr. Sheridan, in his journal, speaks as follows.—" Read Jaafer Ally " Khan's separate letter to Sir Harford, from which " it appears, that it was determined at Tæheran, " through the influence of Meerza Bozurg, that as " soon as his arrival in Persia was known, he " should be acknowledged and received."

On the 22d of November, I felt myself justified in assuring Lord Minto, (little knowing how he had been worked upon, and what a fine freak in the meantime he had taken into his head) that I considered the success of the Mission as quite certain; and I find a remark entered on this day by Mr. Sheridan in his Journal, to the following effect :—" Sir Harford attributes his prospect of " success, *to the fear which the Persians have now* " *imbibed, of the consequences to which their con-* " *nection with France will lead them;* and these " fears being stronger than the apprehensions they " entertain of the result of the war with Russia; " this state of things has been entirely brought " about by the precipitancy, parsimony, and *hauteur* " of the French Ambassador."

Now, reader, if you will do me the favor to turn to page 338, of the first volume, containing the translation of the Persian Manuscript, and read the text and notes which you will find there, you will I think, perceive, that even in my preliminary discussions, I did not work entirely *by* [redacted] *of thumb:* and I think you will also

perceive a strong proof, from the accuracy of the information which was afforded me, how correctly I made the assertion in my first volume, "that "truer and kinder friends than the Persians do "not exist; that when confidence is merited, it "is generally obtained; and that a Persian grants "it in a manner equally creditable to the giver "and receiver."

Matters having attained this point, on the 25th of November, I judged it proper to give the Persians an indisputable proof, that in all my political transactions and engagements with them, I was determined to fulfil every thing which, through General Malcolm, might have been held out to them in the name of the British Government in India, and to make all my proceedings harmonize with the plans and wishes he had developed, as far as I was acquainted with them. It is on this day, that I find Mr. Sheridan notes in his Journal as follows. "Copied a letter from Sir Harford, "to Nazir Ollah Khan, (the Prince Governor of "Schyras's Minister) stating, first, that whatever "promises General Malcolm had made to the Per- "sian Government, he, Sir Harford, was ready to "stipulate that they should be performed *in toto*: "and second, that he, Sir Harford, would willingly "engage to grant to Persia, such assistance in "her present war with Russia, in the shape "of military stores, of all sorts as she might "require; the letter concludes with a

" that a Mehmandar be immediately sent down,
" Sir Harford reporting himself ready and most
" anxious to move towards the presence."

On the 4th December, the positive appointment of the Mehmandar, by name, Mahommed Zikia Khan, a nobleman of rank, and favorite of the Prince, was announced, as well as that he was on the point of commencing his journey towards Bushire; and on the 12th of December, the approach of himself and his train, was reported to me. I directed the guard of cavalry, and all the gentlemen attached to the Mission, to proceed to meet and escort him to a tent pitched in the front of the Factory House, where Mr. Sheridan and myself, were ready to receive him. On the 15th, I paid my last visit to Abdullah Aga, the former Mussaleem of Bussora, for the purpose of receiving his confidential letters to his friend Meerza Bozurg. These letters were not quite ready, and I left Lieutenant Willock behind me, to bring them to me, when finished.

In Mr. Sheridan's journal, I find a note of part of the conversation which passed between Abdullah Aga and Willock after my departure. "Abdullah
" Aga, (says Willock) asked me if I were in the
" cavalry, and if I could ride without stirrups.—
" I told him I could.—He said a soldier was a good
" profession, and asked me what the leather bag
" was for, which hung down by the side of my
" [illegible]—I told him the use of it, was to receive

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE

One of the Envoy's Servants equipped for the Road.

Sketched [illegible] by Sir J. Sutherland.

One of the Peasants Jilourdar:
Peasants who had care of the Horse on the Road.
Sketched from Life by

" any letters I might have to carry—He said car-
" rying letters was the business of a *cossid*, or
" messenger, not of a soldier.—He then asked if
" any of my troop could ride standing upright on
" their horses.—I said, I did not think any one
" had ever tried, but I made no doubt many of
" them could if they tried.—He then said, have
" you ever seen a man that could put each foot on
" a separate horse, stand upright, and guide them
" both at full gallop;—the Turks can do this.—
" I answered no.—But I dare say, replied he laugh-
" ing, you have frequently seen two men ride one
" horse." I have copied this little memorandum, in order to give the reader some idea of the playfulness and affability of Abdullah Aga's character.

On the 17th December I commenced my march towards Schyras, under salutes from H. M. S. Sapphire, and the guns on the walls and beach at Bushire; and, like all people long confined to one spot, and who have passed a considerable portion of time in a state of doubt and expectation, every one felt glad of a change, and in high spirits; and as to myself, not being able to look into the future, I rejoiced that I should again meet several persons for whom I had the highest esteem and sincerest friendship, and that I had a fair prospect of completely fulfilling the instructions of my sovereign.

I have already mentioned that Nebee Khan had been for some

Schyras, to obtain from the Prince, the Government, not only of Bushire and its district, but also of a considerable portion of the Dushtistan, which, for many years previous, had been ruled by different families of Perso-Arabs, whose Government sat very easy on the inhabitants, and was a sort of patriarchal administration. He had now obtained the object of his wishes; but the appointment of Mohammed Nebee was particularly unpopular, and raised up against this foolishly ambitious person a host of enemies, open and concealed, who ultimately effected the complete ruin of his fortune, and the loss of his life in a very cruel and terrible manner.

He was now on his way from Schyras to Bushire, to take possession of his Government; and I expected to meet him at the end of this day's march. To those who reflect on "the changes "and chances" which attend this mortal life, the account of such a meeting will neither be void of interest nor instruction. Here were two persons, after a certain lapse of years, to meet in situations so totally different from those in which their acquaintance commenced, that the most careless observer would not fail to consider the occurrence as a extraordinary one; and to me, who, recollecting Mohammed Nebee when he pursued the broad, and safe path of a merchant,— mer intimacy and service, sincere friendship for him,—I

confess, his present situation, obtained by intrigue and his ambitious folly, was productive of very many painful reflections; and these, as the reader will see, were far from being lessened or mitigated by what took place when we met.

To afford the reader an account of this meeting, I shall again turn to my friend Sheridan's Journal, and present the following extract:—

"A man was sent by Zikea Khan, our Meh-
" mandar, to see if Mohammed Nebee Khan, who
" arrived this day at Ally Changee, were coming to
" meet Sir Harford. He returned, giving notice
" of the Khan's approach, which was also an-
" nounced to us by a prodigious cloud of dust
" appearing in the distance. It was not long
" afterwards that the Khan himself became visible,
" dressed in scarlet, mounted on a white horse,
" his saddle adorned with gold, his saddle-cloth
" most splendidly embroidered, his reins of silver
" lace, and his stirrups and bit mounted in gold.
" He was surrounded by an immense cavalcade,
" which, as he approached the envoy, fell back on
" each side, and began to blaze away with their
" matchlocks, but were a little disconcerted by
" Willock's charge with our cavalry, to salute t
" Khan. No one who has not witnessed P
" pomp, and their manner of bei g sple
" form an idea of the motley group
" rounded us as the Khan appro
" As soon as he came up

" dismounted, and we all did the same. A most " loving embrace then took place between the two "*friends*, for Mohammed Nebee, though now a " Governor, and formerly an Ambassador, was at " one time of his life Sir Harford's Moonshee, or " Writer. After this, both mounted their horses, " and we proceeded to our tents, which were " pitched at Ally Changee. Mahommed Nebee " Khan, and the Mehmandar, attended Sir Harford " to his tent, and then took leave; for, as all the " baggage was not up, and there was considerable " confusion, Sir Harford had no sort of refresh- " ment to offer them."

Here I find my lamented friend proceeds in his Journal to state that which may amuse the reader, as well as that which in our future intercourse with Persia, it may not be unuseful should be known in certain quarters.

" After Sir Harford was dressed, he walked out " with Willock and myself, and talked to us very " freely on the subject of our Government having " paid the expences of Mohammed Nebee Khan, " as Ambassador in India; amongst other things, " he told us, that Mohammed Nebee had acknow- ledged to him, that by remission of customs and er things, he had made seven lacks of and Sir Harford related to us the follow- te, which amused us exceedingly. mmed Nebee Khan was at Bombay, an, the Governor, as a present,

" a copy of the King of Persia's Poems. Mr. " Duncan was rather puzzled what present to make " the Ambassador in return; after some reflection, " he sent him a large paper copy of *Denon's* " *Travels in Egypt.* This the Ambassador re- " turned, and intimated to Mr. Duncan, that the " present he had made him of the King of Persia's " Poems could not be estimated at less value than " 100,000 rupees, which was a pretty broad *avis* " *au lecteur*, that his Excellency expected to re- " ceive something very different from *Denon's Tra-* " *vels,* however highly the work might be valued " by the literary world in Europe. Mr. Duncan " perceiving the scrape he had got into, sent to " assure the Ambassador, that being now aware " of the value of the present which had been made " to him, he could not think of robbing the Am- " bassador of a thing he so highly prized, and " therefore hoped the Ambassador would allow " him to return it. To consent to this, was no " part of the Ambassador's game, and he gave " Mr. Duncan to understand, that to return the " poetry of the King of Persia, would be an affront " of sufficient magnitude, to endanger the amica- " ble intercourse between the two states; the " farce therefore ended, by Mohammed Nebee " taining from Mr. Duncan a present in " equal to about one-fifth of the pric " he had valued his Sovereign's poe

As I had lived on terms of *in*

hammed Nebee Khan, and had had it in my power at different times to render him services of some value, it was natural, situated as he and I then were, that I should be desirous to have a private conversation with him, as soon as possible. From the delay in the arrival of different parts of the baggage, our dinner was not served up till a late hour, and whilst we were seated at it, I received a message from the Khan, announcing his wish to visit me in about an hour's time. As he had attended me to my tent, where, in truth, he had met with a reception but little suitable to my wishes, I secretly sent an answer, expressive of the satisfaction I received from this fresh mark of his friendly attention, at the same time, hoping that all ceremony between us might be waived till the next day, and that he would allow me, after my dinner was finished, to come to him quite alone, and sit an hour with him in his tent, where we would both meet as we were formerly accustomed to do,—he as Aga Mohammed Nebee, and I as Harford Jones, each of us *doffing* our public character.

As soon as I could properly rise from table, I wished the gentlemen of the Embassy good night, and repaired to my private tent, from whence, taking some precautions that my absence not be known, I proceeded to the Khan's were pitched at no great distance very comical adventure now took Persian who challenged me,

I answered, "I am one of the English gentlemen "sent by the minister with a message to the Governor,"—the fellow immediately brought a light, and as the devil would have it, he was a Bushire man, who knew me perfectly well, and who, before I could prevent him, bawled out for the Khan's officers to turn out, as the Ambassador was arrived in the camp. The uproar and confusion this occasioned, was becoming pretty general, when Mohammed Nebee Khan, who, in consequence of my message, had expected me, appeared and put an end to it.

As soon as we reached his private tent, I said, "My old friend, I was anxious to come and apo- "logize to you in person, for the unsuitable re- "ception you met with this morning at my tent, "but I am still more anxious to convince you, "that however I may feel myself honored by my "present commission, my heart is the same towards "all my old friends, and more particularly so "towards yourself, with whom I lived so long on "such terms of intimacy and friendship. It is "impossible we could either of us, in the presence "of other persons, say one half of that which both "of us must wish to communicate."

The Khan however, like a true Persian, surpassed me in compliments, and repeated several times,—"I began life as your servant, and it will "be my greatest happiness to continue so to the "last.—I have a greater right to your unreserved

" confidence than any man in Persia, Meerza " Bozurg not excepted, and you shall see I will " endeavour to deserve it,—indeed, I have already " rendered you no inconsiderable service with the " Government and Prince, at Schyras." He then entered into a long detail of the manner in which he imagined it might be most advantageous for me to conduct myself, a very considerable part of which awakened my suspicion as to the entire probity and disinterestedness of the advice he gave, particularly as he besought me to disclose to him the full extent of my instructions and intentions, and that I would make him the medium through which all my most delicate negociations and transactions with the Persian Ministers, should pass. He proceeded to detail the sort of presents which he conceived would be most acceptable to be made by me to the King and the Ministers at Tæheran, as well as to the Prince Governor at Schyras, and his Ministers; assuring me, at the same time, that I need not give myself any trouble about providing the articles, as his brother at Bushire was possessed of all those which he had enumerated as required.

I confess I was at first startled and angry to find my old friend so hollow; and it was with difficulty I prevented myself from shewing, both by my countenance and language, what I felt. A moment's reflection, however, shewed me the difficult game I had to play, and brought to my recollection, the

immense mischief it was in the Khan's power (should he be so inclined) to do me, with the Prince Governor and his Ministers at Schyras, to none of whom I was personally known. I therefore commenced my reply by saying :—"You must perceive " the great value I set on your advice, by the pro- " found attention with which I have listened to it ; " and the best return I can make to the confidence " you repose in me, is to tell you, that the essence " of my instructions and intentions, is to create, " by every means in my power, the most perfect " harmony and good understanding between my " own Sovereign and the King of Persia, and to " promote and establish a reciprocity of good " offices, and commercial advantages, between the " two kingdoms, as well in India, as in Europe.— " This," continued I, "has, I am sorry to remark, " been somewhat endangered by the intrigues of " the French, who have been admitted to your " Sovereign's presence, and by the hasty departure " of General Malcolm from Bushire ; but, as one " of your poets justly remarks,

"The cloud in the summer sky never sheds snow,"

" so I hope and trust, that by the assistance of " yourself, and other good friends, I shall be able " very shortly after I am admitted to the royal " presence, to put all these trifling matters to " rights. Nothing can be kinder, and perhaps more " just, than the advice you offer me respecting

" presents, but until I see how matters go at Schy-
" ras, you must allow me to decline speaking
" definitively on this subject; but this I will say,
" that whenever I have anything to transact with
" the Persian Ministers which requires confidence
" and secrecy, I shall remember the conversation
" which now passes between us; and as an unde-
" niable proof of the extent to which I incline to
" guide myself by your advice, do give me, as you
" have just left Schyras, a slight *carte du pays*,
" which cannot fail of being most useful to me
" during the time I remain in that capital."

The Khan then entered into the characters of the Prince Governor, of his Minister Nasr Oollah Khan, and of other influential men in the Government there, very much at length, and with a considerable degree of freedom; indeed so much so, as to surprise me,—and I at last contrived to draw from him that which it was of the very utmost importance to me to know,—namely, that there was a design, under various pretexts, to detain me at Schyras, till intelligence might be received, as to the result of General Malcolm's return and representations at Calcutta. Our conference lasted to a very late hour of the night, or rather an early hour of the morning; and, at parting, the Khan fully justified all my suspicions, by again bringing forward the subject of the presents, and by indirectly hinting *how something in respect to them might be arranged to our mutual advantage.*

The dawn of the morning was near appearing when I returned to my tent, perplexed, disappointed, and most heartily tired. However, I had obtained information, the nature of which not only required serious reflection, but the adoption of some immediate measure to counteract the designs of the Prince and his Minister, of detaining me for some time at Schyras, especially as I had not the smallest doubt of that course of proceeding being most likely to be adopted by the Schyras Government.

After mature consideration, I determined to communicate word for word, to Meerza Bozurg, the conference which had taken place between myself and the Khan, distinctly however declaring to him, that though I did not believe either his Persian Majesty, or his Ministers, could think of directing the Schyras Government to treat the Mission in this manner, yet I considered it might be right, the Ministers at Tæheran should at least know, that a report of it, had indirectly reached me, adding, that if, on my arrival at Schyras, I found circumstances to bear out the report as fact, I should judge it to be my duty, to deliver a formal, and official note of complaint, th[illegible] a Mission, immediately proceeding from [illegible] Sovereign, was treated with such disres[illegible] afterwards, return to Bushire, in the [illegible] I could. This appeared to me t[illegible] what the circumstances of the c[illegible]

to do. Meerza Bozurg was then at Tauris, and how, with a proper degree of security and secrecy, to communicate with him, was a matter of some difficulty. I recollected, however, that steady and excellent friend's message to me through Abdullah Aga, who, on parting with him, had said from the Meerza, "Make any use of me you "please; lose no time in letting me know, through "Abdullah Aga, your plans and wishes;" and ended the message with words to which I was determined to pay the utmost attention: "*push on "as quick as you can.*"

Before I laid down to rest, therefore, I wrote, myself, a few lines in Persian, to Abdullah Aga, simply stating, that something had taken place at Ally Changee, which I was desirous to communicate to Meerza Bozurg, with the utmost speed and secrecy; and requesting of him, immediately on receipt of my note to send me a person, to whom I could entrust a *viva voce* message to that Minister. The note to Abdullah Aga, I dispatched to Bushire, by one of my own horsemen, and he, without the smallest loss of time, sent a person to me, who was dispatched to the Meerza with the information I wished him to be possessed of. This was executed very fortunately without the Persian Secretaries having the smallest idea of what I was engaged in.

I have to mention, that I had received a very kind invitation from the Ambassador, to visit him very shortly after our arrival

OF THE
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BRANCH
OF THE
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One of the Envoy's Persian Messengers.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

on the ground at Ally Changee, for myself and the gentlemen of the Embassy to dine with him the next day: and for some account of the proceedings of that day, I return to the journal of my lamented friend. "Sunday, December 18th, after "prayers, we all accompanied Sir Harford on his "visit of ceremony to Mohammed Nebee Khan. "The forms observed at this visit, were pretty much "the same as those which took place at visits of "the same nature at Bushire, except that trays of "sweetmeats were placed on stools before each of "us. From the tray placed before Sir Harford, the "Khàn took a species of dry sweetmeat made "into round cakes, about the size of cakes of "shaving soap, and not very much unlike them "in outward appearance; these he endeavoured "to break, but finding it difficult to effect, he "gave them into the hands of one of his servants, "who succeeded better than his master. The "pieces were then distributed by the Khan to "Sir Harford, and the rest of the gentlemen. "After the full ceremonies of a Persian visit had "been gone through, the gentlemen rose, departed, "and left Sir Harford and the Khan together. "When, about eight o'clock in the evening, Sir "Harford was ready, we mounted our horses, and "rode to the Khan's tent. We were received by "him, and the Mehmander, at the door of the "tent; which, after pulling off our Persian shoes, "we entered, and Sir Harford was conducted by

" the Khan, and placed in the seat of honor." &c. I do not trouble the reader with a farther account of this entertainment, as given in the Journal, because all such entertainments are very much the same, and as it is my intention, by and by, to describe one of the best and grandest I received, I hope he will permit me to say, *ex uno disce omnes*.

We were to move forward the next morning, and as the Khan had declared an intention to escort me a little distance on my road, I rose very early for the purpose of previously paying him, in his own tent, a complimentary visit. Little did I imagine how painful to me this visit was to be.

After receiving from him a repetition of the most unbounded professions of regard, devotion, and service, conveyed in terms which shocked me by their servility, he again returned to the subject of presents, and plainly told me he had India goods proper for this purpose, to the amount of about £14,000, which it would be most highly convenient to him to part with, and which, if I would undertake to distribute at Tajheran, and on my way there, the profits should be shared between us. Had I been differently situated, I trust the reader will do me the justice to believe, I should have replied to such a proposal in terms much harsher than those which I then judged it prudent to make use of. As it was, I couched my refusal in as gentle words as possible, and perhaps this emboldened the Khan to return to the charge,

and to propose that at least I would allow the goods to be sent up from Bushire to Schyras, in my name, by which he would save the payment of those customs which otherwise would be levied on them. I told him this proposition was as much out of my power to consent to as the other had been, and that the very utmost I could do to serve him, in this respect, was to promise, that if, after my arrival at Schyras, I found I had occasion for any of the articles he possessed, I should prefer being supplied with them by him, to purchasing them from any other person, and would write to him accordingly; "besides," added I, "it is a matter "of great moment to me to arrive at Tæheran as "quickly as possible, and therefore I am anxious "to diminish, if possible, rather than encrease my "baggage." We parted; and I regret to say, on my part, with a total change of sentiments towards my old friend; and he, I strongly suspected, and afterwards found but too true, with a determination rather to annoy than to assist me. I do not pretend to better or finer feelings than my neighbours, but I must say the Khan's behaviour vexed me more than perhaps it ought to have done; and this because I imagined, that from our long intercourse with each other, he ought to have rated my regard for honor and integrity much higher than he appeared to do. But I ought also to have recollected, that from the pursuits to which he had latterly unreservedly delivered himself up, his mind

and heart had room for little else than ambition and avarice, passions which, if suffered to predominate, extinguish friendship and good feeling, as the sun-beams do a common fire.

There is a custom in Persia, which I believe few Europeans have ever seen practised, without regretting its existence. I mean that every public agent, when he travels in Persia, is considered as the king's guest, and that therefore every thing he stands in need of on the road, for himself, for his suite, for his servants, and for his cattle, is furnished by a very oppressive species of purveyance, in the different villages through which he passes, or near which he halts, on the road.

Now, if no more was demanded from the villages, than what was absolutely required by the person so travelling, and the amount of it was really carried, as it is pretended to be, to the credit of the villages, in their account with Government, the thing would be, in reality, of no further consequence than it being sometimes disagreeable to an European so travelling, to know that he was travelling at the expense of another State; about which, however, *au bout du compte*, he might very well satisfy his conscience, by finding that he had presents to make at court, nearly equal in value to what he had received on his way there, from the villages. But the fact is the direct contrary. The Mehmandar, who, on great occasions, always purchases his appointment, is silently

permitted to demand, both for himself and the king's guest, three times the quantity of provisions necessary for both; this immediately leads to a negociation between the Mehmandar, the Khedhoda, or head of the village, to mitigate a considerable part of that which he has demanded, on receiving a douceur in money; but this is not all the hardship the village is subject to,—for when the Miri, or Government account, comes to be settled, either at the capital of the kingdom, or the capital of the province, the fair and just claim of the village, is seldom, if ever, admitted to its full extent. It is true, that in the case of Europeans, the villagers are in some measure compensated by the presents made to them on departing; but in the case of native Persians of consequence travelling with an order for this kind of purveyance, the oppression is really dreadful. Well aware of this, I considered it my duty not only to issue the strictest orders, but to see myself that the person whose office it was to state the wants of the Mission to the Mehmandar, kept them at the lowest possible rate: but I always proportioned the present which I made on leaving a village, to its poverty, and the time we had drawn on it for supplies.

It is not my design to dwell on a description of the country through which the Mission passed, nor the places at which it halted; what I shall pretty nearly confine myself to, *is the proceedings*

of the Mission, and other circumstances connected with them. Such as are desirous of becoming acquainted with the first, may find them minutely detailed by travellers who journeyed with their minds more at ease, and with less responsibility on their shoulders, than I had.

Our next stage was to Borasgoon, where I determined to halt one day, in order that the remainder of the baggage, from Bushire, might come up with us; for, at this time, the Mission was but scantily supplied with many articles of necessity, as well as of comfort. It was at this place, that I received a dispatch from Jaafer Ally Khan, then in charge of our interests at Schyras, the contents of which amused me a good deal. I find, in my friend's Journal, the following observation made on it:—"An express arrived from "Jaafer Ally Khan, intimating, I suppose, from "the answer I copied, that if it were Sir Harford's "wish, the French Ambassador should be im- "mediately seized. Sir Harford, in his reply, "expresssed the utmost detestation of such a "design or proceeding, and strictly directed Jaafer "Ally Khan to answer the Prince's Minister, that "the bare mention of such a thing filled him with "horror." It was true enough, that such was the purport of a message which Jaafer Ally Khan, in his dispatch, stated he was desired by the Prince's Minister to communicate to me. Now, I mention this, merely for the purpose of giving the reader

some idea of the absurdities which the Persians will be guilty of, and resort to, for the purpose of cajoling, or in the hope of being able "jetter la "poudre aux yeux," of those with whom they have to treat. Neither Nasr Oollah Khan, nor the Prince Governor, had more the power of seizing the French Ambassador, had they been so willed, than I had of seizing those personages themselves, and sending them down to Bombay; besides which, intelligence from Tæheran, on which I could place the most implicit reliance, assured me, the struggle between General Gardanne and myself was, at that time, by no means clearly decided in my favor; and, therefore, supposing for a moment, that his Persian Majesty could have determined on so violent and unjustifiable a proceeding, it was most improbable he should, at that time, resort to it. Nothing farther was designed by this message, than what took place between Lady Mary Wortley Montague and her Janissary, when he offered to bring her the Turk's head in a basin, who had not been able to procure her ladyship some article for her table which she wished for. It was a *façon de parler*, but it was a *façon de parler*, which gave me an excellent opportunity of detailing to the Persians the conduct I proposed to myself to pursue towards the French embassy, with which, if my correspondence with the Prince's Ministers at Schyras, was communicated, as was more than probable, to the

Minister at Tæheran, it might be of some advantage to me, that his Persian Majesty should be made acquainted.

We reached Dowlaki on the 21st of December, and here I had a business on my hands which caused me some little vexation. Whilst encamped at Ally Changee, a person who had formerly been one of the district Governors or Reis, in the Dushtistan, and who, whilst in power, had been uniformly friendly and serviceable to our residents at Bushire, had been some time before deprived of his Government and reduced to great poverty by the intrigues already alluded to, of Mohammed Nebee Khan and his brother. This person came to implore my assistance to prevent the Khan harassing him by further persecutions; and I prefer giving the reader Mr. Sheridan's account of this little affair, to relating it from my own recollection.

"On the morning of our departure from Ally "Changee, we were detained some little time "in consequence of Mohammed Nebee Khan's "being desirous to obtain a private conference "with Sir Harford, and of Sir Harford's wishing "to speak to the Khan in behalf of a poor old "Reis; this man had lately a tract of country "under his management; he is now old and very "poor; but in his days of prosperity he had always "manifested the greatest attention to the English "at Bushire, and frequently entertained them

" with the greatest hospitality, on their parties of
" shooting or hunting in the country. He accom-
" panied Sir Harford towards the Khan's tents,
" and as soon as that person observed him, not
" being aware of the interest Sir Harford took in
" the poor man, he called out to him: 'What
" ' has such a scoundrel as you to do here?' Sir
" Harford then spoke at great length, and very
" warmly, to the Khan, in favor of the old man,
" and the other at last deigned to say, 'as the
" ' Ambassador interests himself about you, you
" ' are forgiven, and if you behave well, I will
" ' have my eye on you.' That is, I will protect
" or favor you. Sir Harford is a person, who, on
" certain occasions, has difficulty to hide what
" passes in his mind from appearing in his counte-
" nance, and now being evidently displeased, he
" said to the Khan, in a manner I have never seen
" him assume before to any Persian; 'Mohammed
" ' Nebee Khan! you are the son of Aga Cutchook;
" ' you well know who this old man is, and the
" ' services he rendered your father, when, God
" ' knows, he had great need of them. *I* re-
" ' commend him to your notice, and *I* entrust
" ' him to your care.'"

The old Reis begged hard for permission to accompany me to Schyras; this, if granted, might have raised the Khan's suspicions of my intention to obtain something for him from the government

there, and, in the end, have done the old man more harm than good,—so I positively refused it; and, under this view of the case, much against his will, and somewhat against my own, I took leave of him at Dowlacksi. I have again recourse to my friend's Journal:—"Before we left Dowlacksi, "the old Reis came to take leave of Sir Harford, "having been advised by him to return to Bu- "shire, and positively forbidden, by Mohammed "Nebee Khan, to accompany the Embassy any "farther. The old man was in tears, and accom- "panied us, on the commencement of our march, "a little way on foot, by the side of Sir Harford's "horse, constantly wishing him all the happiness "this world could bestow, and uttering the "warmest expressions of gratitude for his kind- "ness to him." I had afterwards, when I had a personal interview with my excellent friend, Meerza Bozurg, the great satisfaction to obtain for this injured old gentleman, reparation and security to as great an extent as either he or I wished; and he lived long enough in peace and quietness to witness the downfall and horrible fate of the man, who, instead of oppressing him and treating him with scorn, ought to have rejoiced at an opportunity of returning to him, in some measure, the great services his father had formerly received from him. The letters I received from this person during my residence in Persia, and the little

common bed carpet which he contrived to send me, as a present, amply, most amply, repaid every pains or trouble I took on his account.

Meerza Bozurg, whose descent from their prophet Mohammed is indisputable, and publicly acknowledged throughout Persia,* prides himself greatly on his Arabian blood, and therefore was extremely indignant at the manner in which many of the old Arab families in the Dashtistan, had been treated, and at the intrigues of Mohammed Nebee to dispossess them of their governments; and this indignation was greatly increased by the Meerza's recollection of how steadily many of them had supported the cause of his former sovereign, Lutf Ally Khan. He had prudently, lest it might awaken unfavorable suspicions in the minds of the Khajar ministers, abstained from interfering in their behalf; but, in a confidential conversation with me, at Tæheran, he said, "the "day shall come, when that mountebank, Mo- "hammed Nebee, shall be made to feel what it is "to have *taken the fire from under an Arab pot*;" and most bitterly did he keep his word.

On the morning of the 22nd, we moved to Khesdt, where I had to prepare for an interview, to me most interesting and extraordinary, that is, with my old friend, Zàl Khan, whom I had never seen

* The family house at Mecca, Meerza Bozurg told me, still exists, and that his uncle, Meerza Mohammed Hussain, was lodged in it when he visited that city on his pilgrimage.

since I parted from him and His Majesty, Lutf Ally Khan, as mentioned in my first volume. In the interval, he had been deprived of two most precious organs, his eyes and his tongue; he sent out to meet me the very largest procession he could possibly collect; and very shortly before I reached my tent, he came to compliment me himself. The old man expressed great delight at our meeting again, and repeatedly wished he could be of any service to me, adding emphatically: "Meerza "Bozurg is now the only man in power I have "any correspondence with; and I know, by ex- "perience, your influence with him is greater than "mine;—these Khajars," continued he, "are now "in power, and I almost rejoice that the loss of "my eyes prevents me witnessing their ascen- "dancy. There is one thing I shall accuse myself "of to my dying day, the opposition I made to "the sage and wise advice you gave His Majesty, "Lutf Ally Khan, before you left us to proceed to "Bunder Reig; had that advice been followed, "His Majesty would have regained his throne, "and old Zàl would not have been so cruelly "maimed and mutilated, as he is. It may, how- "ever, be some satisfaction to you to know, that "as long as I was with His Majesty, your name "was constantly in his mouth; and that he often "said to us, 'that Fringee had more sense than "'all of us put together, and if I live to see "'him again, he shall never leave me.'" Mr.

Sheridan, I see, in his Journal, gives the following account of Zàl Khan's deplorable mutilation, and I have every reason to consider it as correct. "Shortly after Aka Mohammed Khan had destroyed "the King, Zàl Khan, the Governor of Khesdt, "fell into his hands; it was said that Aka Mo- "hammed Khan had at first no intention of per- "sonally injuring him; but that, when brought "before him, Zàl Khan could not command him- "self, and was so extremely intemperate and un- "guarded in what he said, that Aka Mohammed, "in a passion, ordered him to be thrown down "and deprived of sight. When he was suffered "to rise from this cruel operation, the violence "and bitterness of his language increased, and "there was no opprobious epithet or name in the "Persian language, which he did not apply to the "eunuch; who then ordered his tongue to be "destroyed, saying, 'we shall see whether this "'will stop the fellow's abuse.' This operation "was so performed, that is, by taking away one "half the tongue, that he was deprived of utter- "ance which could be understood. As soon, how- "ever, as he was released, and, at home, he had "fortitude and resolution enough to order the "remaining part of his tongue to be extracted; "and what is more extraordinary, but not more "extraordinary than true, is, that he now speaks, "as Sir Harford assures me, more distinctly than "he did before his misfortune, and certainly dis-

" tinct and plain enough for me to understand " every word he says."

The Khan paid me a very long visit, and I believe we both of us felt unwilling to break it up: at parting, he complimented me in the following very extraordinary terms:—" I pray God to put it into " the heads of those ill-bred Khajars, to send you " back, for I cannot bear the idea, they should " have about them a person of your ability and " judgment. Adieu, my dear friend; we shall never " meet again in this world; you are a Christian, " and I am a Mohammedan, but you are such a " Christian, that I am sure you will either go to " your own paradise, (if you have one) or be per- " mitted to enter our's." The forlorn appearance of my old friend, and the very extraordinary feeling towards me, which alone could have produced such a speech, affected me to tears, and I was glad for a few minutes to retire to my private tent; and to find we had exchanged some little trifling things, which we each wore about our persons, as keepsakes.

The Mission was attended by a troop of Madras cavalry, which had been ordered to Persia with General Malcolm, and also by a Jamaadar's guard of sepoys. I considered it to be no small part of my duty, on all occasions, to adopt ostensible means of marking to the Persians, the different degree in which Englishmen regard and respect their Sovereign, and the Governor-General, from

which last all the late Missions to the Persian court had hitherto been sent. As one means of effecting this, I caused the Taktrevan, which was prepared for me to travel in, if indisposed on the road, to be covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, and ornamented with gold lace, and a very handsome satin mattrass to be placed inside of it; on which, when we commenced our march from Bushire, I placed, with some ceremony, the box containing the King's letter to the King of Persia. On the line of march, the taktrevan, or litter, was always preceded by one of the troopers carrying before it an Union silk Jack; at each door of the litter a trooper, with drawn sword, was stationed, and as many of the cavalry guard as could be spared from other services, followed behind, under the command of their native officer, with their swords drawn. When, on approaching any town, we had occasion to form in procession, the European officer in command of the troop, invariably rode, with his sword drawn, in the front of the litter, a double guard was stationed at the doors, and the remainder of the troop followed, with their swords drawn; then came the Mehmandar and myself, abreast; and following us, the gentlemen of the Embassy, two and two. At every halting place, I dismounted, and followed the litter on foot, to the place destined for its reception, previously passing it through the troop drawn up in two lines, and who presented arms as

" have any effect on Sir Harford; for the moment " after we had reached our ground, and he had " dismissed the Governor and our Mehmandar, " he ordered cossids, or messengers, to be in " readiness; and sat down, not only to write him- " self, but to dictate to the Persian secretaries, " who, I fancy, heartily wished that he had been " made of more fatiguable materials."

Having mentioned this last circumstance, it is necessary I should say, that I had ordered Jaafer Ally Khan, the British agent at Schyras, to meet me here. Now, from the day of my landing at Bushire, the public business, in one shape or other, had left me but little time either for rest or pleasure. I made it a rule, from which, during the whole of my residence in Persia, I never swerved, not to allow the Persian secretaries to put a single word into any official document, but what was dictated to them by myself. The person who was then acting as my principal Persian secretary, had served General Malcolm, and he prided himself greatly on the elegance of his style, that is, on the intricacy of it, and on the length of his periods; so that his style was pretty much the same as that which Don Quixote admired so greatly in the works of Feliciano de Silva. This custom of mine disused him, I believe, very soon after he had joined the Mission, heartily to repent his having done so; for he told a person, who repeated it to me, that "he knew not for which of his sins it

On Stone by A. Picken. Printed by J. Mallamshill.

One of the Envoy's Meerza, or Secretaries.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

" was, that he had attached himself to me, whom " he found to have no proper value for a person " possessed of such eminent epistolary talents as " himself; and to serve whom, a fellow who gained " his bread by writing notes and letters for infe- " rior shopkeepers at a penny a piece, was quite " good enough." The first time I had occasion to employ this consequential scribe at Bushire, was very near being the last. It was to prepare a letter, which required some caution in the wording of it, to the Prince Governor of Schyras. " Meerza," said I, " you will, in the exordium of " the letter, give the Prince as many titles, and " pay him as many compliments, as you think " proper; but that done, not a single word which " I dictate to you on business, must be changed." He very readily replied, " Cheshem," *i. e.* " on my " eyes," and very steadily and composedly took down my dictation. After some time, he brought the letter, fairly copied, that I might affix my seal to it. This was an act I never performed without having the document read over to me first. Judge, reader, of my astonishment, after the submissive " Cheshem," to find all the business part of the letter couched in the most flowery and uncertain phraseology which the Persian language could supply. I immediately said, " My good friend, " these are not the words I dictated to you, and " desired you to write."—" No," replied he, " the " words are not the same, but the meaning of

" them is; and the reason of my changing them " is, that what you dictated *is not Persian,* and " therefore the Meerzas about the court would " never be able to comprehend what you designed " to communicate to the Prince."—" That," said I, " would indeed be most unfortunate! because it " is of very great consequence to me, that both " the Prince and his Ministers should *clearly* and " *accurately* understand *what I do mean;* and, " moreover, it is of equal importance to me, not " to communicate any thing to them, but that " which *I do mean, ad litteram.* As to what I " dictated to you *not being Persian,* you must " not be offended if I say I think it is, and, there- " fore, that there will be no danger of the Prince " and his Ministers not understanding its meaning " and import; and what confirms me in this opi- " nion is, that during the several years I resided " at Bagdad, and carried on a multifarious corres- " pondence, of considerable importance, with " Meerza Bozurg, and other persons of conse- " quence, I never had the misfortune to have one " of my letters returned to me as unintelligible, " nor was I ever asked for the explanation of any " particular phrase." The last shot he fired was, that " his credit as a scholar and writer was at " stake."—" My dear Meerza," said I, " so is mine " as a Minister; and just at present you must for- " give me if I think the latter to be of much more " consequence (to me, at least) than the former.

"I am really sorry, and perhaps I may add, "ashamed, to give a man of your eminence and "talents the trouble of writing this letter over "again; *but it must be done.*" And done it was, but with a very bad grace. But what surprised him still more was, that I compelled his assistant, in a note to the Prince's Minister, to say, "I be- "seech your Excellency, that, in all matters of "business which are to pass between us, you will "only use the most precise terms and plainest "words, because on all occasions I am most "anxious to understand your commands and "wishes, without being obliged, from my con- "fined knowledge of the Persian language, to "recur to others for the explanation of a more "elegant and refined phraseology." This was a death-blow to a great part of the consequence, and perhaps the designs, of my Persian secretaries: they felt it as such, and afterwards acted but sulkily. At this, however, I felt no great concern, and I redoubled my attention and politeness to them, in all other respects. I am not sure, that there were not, at this time, others, forming my suite, who expected to be more consulted than they had been, and who wished I should leave things which I managed myself, to be directed and managed by them.

I had never seen Jaafer Ally Khan. I had much reason, however, to be satisfied with his zeal and general conduct, but I had found on one or two

occasions, that in the fulness and joy of his heart, he had, in his communications with the Prince's ministers, exceeded the instructions I gave him; and as it seemed to me, that on my near approach to Schyras, he might be assailed so as to draw from him inconvenient promises and terms about my entrance and reception there, I judged it safest and best to request him to meet me at Kazeroon. A very few minutes' conversation with him, convinced me, that in doing so, I had acted with considerable prudence, and that from the account he gave me of the state of affairs at Schyras, and of the intentions towards me of that government, it became indispensably necessary that I should communicate with his Majesty's Prime Minister, Meerza Sheffe, and Meerza Bozurg, without a moment's delay. I sent, therefore, for the two Persian secretaries to my tent, and desired them to compose a complimentary letter to each of the personages above mentioned, expressing the satisfaction I derived from the very honorable reception I had that day experienced at Kazeroon, desiring them, the secretaries, also to especially attribute it to the favor and friendship of these two ministers. Whilst these gentlemen were thus employed, I retired with Jaafer Ally to effect the business part of my communication, and as he understood English tolerably well, and did not pride himself on being an *accomplished Persian scribe*, it was done with ease and goodwill.

The reader, no doubt, will rejoice, to be relieved from this very dull detail, and therefore I shall turn again to my friend's Journal.

"Jaafer Ally Khan joined us; his appearance "is much in his favor, he has an excellent coun- "tenance. Sir Harford made him many acknow- "ledgments for the services he had rendered the "Mission, and Bruce and the Doctor were very "glad to see their old friend. The Governor of "Kazeroon sent us refreshments on three large "trays, consisting of pilaws, stews, sweetmeats, "&c. The Persian cookery is very good, and "their sweetmeats excellent. In the evening, we "went to look at the Governor's garden,—it is a "square, the four sides of which might measure "about three quarters of a mile; there is a strait "walk runs up the middle of it, bounded on each "side by cypress and orange trees; in the middle "of this walk is a kiosk or summer-house, and "over one of the gateways is a room which has a "pretty appearance. It gave us much pleasure "to find here one of the most melodious of all our "own singing birds, that is, the blackbird.

"I find the Governor is universally well spoken "of, as a generous, and charitable man, which is "greatly to his credit, since the manner in which "all Governors in this country are obliged to col- "lect the revenue, invariably leads them to oppress "those under them. The government of a dis- "trict is without any exception purchased; and

" independent of the purchase money, the buyer " has, at different times and on different occasions, " most expensive presents to make to the king and " his Ministers; so that, after these claims are " satisfied, the Governor is obliged to have recourse " to extortion, to support himself and his house- " hold. It seems that the policy of the present " king's government, is to keep not only the inha- " bitants, but the Governors of the provinces and " districts, as poor as possible; and thus, though, " in a country where water is scarce, the average " return of crop is from fourteen to twenty fold, " agriculture declines; and the earth is made to " produce no more than will subsist the inhabitants " and pay the taxes, and furnish the subsistence of " the Governor and his household. Any effort " made to go beyond this, would, under the present " system, not lead to the happiness of the people. " Prospective economy and prudence is seldom " from this cause practised; for if a man has " enough for the present, he is indifferent about " the future, well knowing that any superfluity he " possesses to-day, may be taken from him to- " morrow. Persia certainly suffers the want of sea- " ports,—Bushire being the best and most fre- " quented; notwithstanding this, many of her " merchants possess great wealth.

" In the evening, Jaafer related to us that the " Prince Governor of Schyras had desired him to " read a newspaper in English to him, and then to

" translate the whole, even to the advertisements,
" into Persian: he said the Prince was extremely
" inquisitive, and gave him a great deal of trouble.
" The Prince was particularly desirous to know
" who the Germans were; because, when Jaafer
" read to him of a German army of 120,000 men,
" and of 25,000 of them being slain in one action,
" he said, in plain terms, that he did not believe
" either the one or the other of these things to
" be possible,—'For this plain reason,' said the
" Prince, 'that the King, my father, cannot bring
" 'into the field more than 60,000 horse; how,
" 'therefore, can any European potentate bring
" '120,000; and as to 25,000 men being slain in a
" 'battle, that is equally impossible; because, in
" 'our severest and longest battles, our loss never
" 'exceeds from 50 to 100 men.'

" The Persians are unquestionably a very polite
" people. All the Governors of districts or pro-
" vinces who come to meet Sir Harford, dismount,
" whilst he receives their compliments on horse-
" back. The salutation to him, is *Musharoff*
" *sauktie*—'you do us honor,'—his reply is,
" *Musharoff shudam*—'I am honored, or you do
" 'me honor.'"

I regretted exceedingly that the constant occupation of my time did not permit me to spend more of it in the society of the gentlemen attached to the Mission. But I omitted no opportunity to afford them every facility in my power, both of

amusing themselves on the road, and of pursuing any inquiries as to the country, its antiquities, or produce, which they wished to make. I had early witnessed, and was delighted to see, the earnestness and eagerness with which Sir James Sutherland applied himself to fulfil, in the most correct manner, the important duties attached to his department; for though, frequently, I believe, much fatigued when we arrived at our ground, he never allowed himself rest till he had laid down, accurately, the bearings and distances, as well as all the other observations which he had made in the course of the march. The fruit of these his labours has been given to the public in the beautiful map lately published. Mr. Morier had early communicated to me his intention of publishing an account of the country through which we were passing, and he in consequence received from me every assistance he wanted or desired. Such being the path I had chalked out for myself, as the ruins of Shahpoor are not very distant from Kazeroon, I was not sorry that Christmas-day obliged me to halt; for by observing Sunday, and the great festivals, as days of rest, I wished to demonstrate to the Persians, that we were not, as the English in Turkey and Persia, (are often accused of being) without religion.

After the service of the day, therefore, had been publicly performed in my tent, and I had received the compliments of such Europeans and Persians

as were entitled to pay them, Mr. Morier and myself, with a sufficient guard, set out to visit the ruins of Shahpoor, amongst which we remained to the close of day.

The following part of Mr. Sheridan's Journal, will, perhaps, convince the reader, that, on more accounts than one, it was prudent to direct Jaafer Ally Khan, to leave Schyras, and meet me at Kazeroon.

"Whilst Sir Harford was absent with Morier, "Jaafer Ally Khan paid Willock and myself a "visit, and gave us an account of the various im- "positions which were practised upon him by the "people about the Prince; he said one of the "gentlemen of the guard begged of him to pur- "chase a horse, at twice its value, and when Jaafer "had complied with this request, he preferred "another the next day, saying:—'My dear friend, "'the cold weather is coming on, for God's sake "'give me cloth enough to make a cloak, to keep "'me warm.' Jaafer said it was of no use to "protest to this person that he had no cloth; he "returned to the charge, and the end was, that he "found himself obliged to purchase cloth for this "purpose, from the Bazaar, and present it to him; "and so get rid of his incessant importunity. "This, he told us, was one case amongst many "others."

Now Jaafer's compliance with these inconvenient, and, I may add, shameless, importunities, arose,

as he told me, from an apprehension that denial might, in some shape or other, injure the interests of the Mission; and, therefore, whether the cost of these presents was to be borne by Jaafer himself, or to be carried (as it really was) to the public account, it was my duty to put a stop to them as soon as possible. The fact was, that very early in my intercourse with Jaafer, I discovered him to be, with a certain degree of ability, a very weak, timid man; and being an Indian born, though of Persian parents, the Persians, in their own country, considered him as a person who might be bullied or flattered as best suited their purpose. I am glad, however, to close these remarks, by saying, that if his mistakes were sometimes a little provoking, his services, *au bout du compte*, were often efficient, and of some importance; that his temper was delightful, and his manners those of a polished Persian gentleman.

God forbid that any one should suppose, that in making the following extract from my friend's Journal, I do so with a design to attack the memory or character of a person no longer able to reply. No one can be more ready and willing to declare, than I am, that he was possessed of great information on matters connected with India, and also of very valuable talents, and if I have never estimated either the one or the other so very highly as they seem to have been esteemed by others; it may perhaps proceed from my want of judgment and

discernment, and not from his want of superior abilities. Thus much is quite certain, that our ideas of diplomacy (and I hope I may say it without offence to any one) differed *toto cœlo*; his were purely Indian; mine, (I beseech you, reader, to observe, I do not speak either of their merit, or the correctness of them) had been formed by no very short intercourse and correspondence with several of His Majesty's most able Ambassadors in Europe, and with the Agents and Consuls of foreign nations established in Turkey.

What has occasioned my touching on this subject is, that I know it to have been repeatedly represented by some whose names it is now not worth while to mention, in quarters where such representations worked me no small evil, that "my "success in Persia was owing to circumstances "from which I could claim no merit; and that "those circumstances, *cæteris paribus*, would have "been attended with the same effects, whoever "had held the office of Envoy to the Court of "Persia." In such case, I trust the reader will not blame me if I adopt the words of one of the most witty Knights that ever rode "a colonelling," when he says:—

"Quoth he, it stands me much upon,
"To enervate this Objection;
"And prove myself by Reason clear,
"No *chanceling* as you would infer."

and, therefore, if in giving an account of my pro-

ceedings in Persia, I now quote for this purpose the opinion of those who were on the spot, I feel it is not vanity which induces me to do so, but a just and proper regard for my own character. At the same time, I will assure the reader that this opinion was completely unknown to me till long after I returned to England, and known only through the lamented circumstance of my becoming one of the executors of Mr. Sheridan, and in that capacity, his Journal falling into my hands.

That which I am now about to extract from my friend's Journal, is part of a conversation which he has noted down as having taken place between himself and Jaafer Ally Khan. "Jaafer "told me the reason why Sir Harford had suc- "ceeded, and Malcolm had failed, is this: Sir "Harford had gained his point by remaining "quietly at Bushire; taking advantage of every "circumstance as it occurred; continually im- "pressing on Nasr Oollan Khan, the vagueness "and insincerity of the French promises, and their "incapacity to fulfil those promises, even if they "were so inclined; and pointing out the solid "advantages which must accrue to Persia from a "regular and well-formed alliance with England. "Moreover, by constantly exhorting the Ministers "to consider seriously in what situation they "would place themselves if they advised His "Persian Majesty to refuse receiving a Mission "sent to him directly from the king of England;

" appearing also to regard the reception of the " French Mission at Tæheran, *not as a matter of* " *complaint,* but as a casualty, which would easily " be remedied and set to rights, when he was " admitted to the royal presence.

" Jaafer said that Malcolm had adopted a me- " nacing course, and that the Court of Tæheran " considered all his communications as saying, in " effect; ' if you do not dismiss the French, I will " ' return to Calcutta, and advise the Governor- " ' General to make you do it by force;' *it is not* " *therefore owing to any political changes in* " *Europe, or elsewhere,* that Sir Harford has " succeeded; but it is owing to his own unre- " mitting exertions, judgment, and prudence; " and to his dexterity in raising suspicions in the " minds of His Persian Majesty and his Ministers, " as to the real nature of the French designs, and " the great probability, that if they were permitted " to march through Persia to India, they would " require, or rather demand, a pretty large loan " of His Majesty's treasures, and a pretty large " supply of horses, camels, mules, &c.* And to " this may be added the judicious hints which " Sir Harford has from time to time thrown out, " that their differences with Russia might be more " advantageously settled through the medium of " England than that of France."

* The reader who peruses this Memoir with any interest, will do well to turn to Page 338 of the first volume.

I find my friend's memoranda of this day conclude very comically: "This being Christmas day, "Jaafer Ally had plenty of plum pudding, which "he admires above all things, and is very fond of "English cookery in general."

We moved from Kazeroon to Aubudoor, where a Persian officer, by name Kereem Khan, sent express, brought me the first firman which I received from the King, and letters from the Ministers, containing circumstantial reports of a repulse which the Russians had suffered, in an attack they had made on the fort and city of Erivan; and they also acquainted me, that, on the receipt of this news at Tæheran, the King had said, in full court, "Sir Harford Jones's foot is lucky. Let it be "communicated to him that I think so, and that "I have said so." I assembled, in my public tent, the whole of the Mission, as well as the Mehmandar and his suite, to hear, not only the King's Firman, but the official Persian dispatches, read; and to the bearer of them I presented a handsome dress and gratuity. On this occasion, too, I very much gratified my principal Persian secretary, by desiring him to compose a congratulatory letter to the Prince Governor of Schyras, in his very best style; which, when done, God knows, put common sense at defiance to understand it, farther than its having reduced all the heroes of antiquity, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, to mere drivellers, in comparison with Fath Ally Shah. The reader

may be sure I did not forget, on all available occasions, to make use of His Majesty's expression, that "my foot was lucky;" and this was of the more importance, because the Persians are thoroughly convinced, that good fortune is attendant on particular persons, and may, by their presence, be imparted to others, in the same manner that the eyes of some persons have a direct and immediate power of good or evil influence over things and persons on which they fall.

Our next resting-place was Deeshterjean. Although the attention I uniformly received from the Mehmandar, was such as to merit my entire approbation, nevertheless, I had here strong reason to see and feel that it was much increased, both in assiduity and respect. He had heard that his Sovereign had publicly declared, that "my foot was "lucky;" and this instantly convinced him, that I should be held in high esteem at court, and that my future recommendation and patronage might be worth his notice. He had with him a very handsome gray Arabian horse, which was particulary easy and light in his paces, and which once or twice, by his desire, I had mounted on the road, and had in consequence wished to purchase; but he had declined to part with it, saying he intended, on his return to Schyras, to present the horse to the Prince Governor there. In the course of a visit which he paid me in the evening, I was greatly surprised to hear him say, that he had

dreamt the preceding night, that the King had ordered him to make me a present of this horse, and that he, wishing not to be disobedient to the vision, had sent the horse to be picketted with mine; and begged my acceptance of it; entreating me, at the same time, to grant him a favor in return; which was, that I should mount this horse when I made my public entrance into Schyras; which, he assured me, would be not only extremely creditable to him, but might be extremely useful to him at Tæheran.

We next arrived at Khonehzineaun. The cold had now become excessive, and we were travelling through snow; and my Indian companions, servants, troopers, sepoys, &c., required, in the shape of warm clothing, every comfort in my power to afford them. Here the Mehmandar invited me to hawk with him, which I accepted; but his hawks were extremely ill trained, and good for nothing. I raised myself, however, in his opinion, by talking to him on the different sorts of hawks, their qualities, the best method of training and of treating them during the hazardous season of moulting; all which recondite knowledge I had purchased very dearly, during my residence at Bagdad, where hawking was the only amusement I had.

Next day, the 24th December, we halted within three miles of the city of Schyras. I had now once more passed over the same ground that I had formerly done, as an invalid in search of

health, as a merchant, seeking to mix profit with pleasure, and as a fugitive from Schyras; scarcely hoping to reach Bunder Reeg without being plundered of much, if not all, the valuable baggage I carried with me. The different places at which we stopped on the road were, therefore, familiar to me; and each brought to my recollection some circumstances of interest. There was scarcely one of these places at which I had not formerly made acquaintance with some of its inhabitants in the humbler walks of life: many of these had already gone to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns;" but such of them as were still alive, invariably found some opportunity or other of visiting me in private,—some of them attended by their children,—all of them greeting me with the kindest expressions of regard and friendship,—and uniformly bringing with them some little present. Some, for instance, brought a favorite kid; others, fresh butter, made by their wives; others, cream cheese, or coagulated milk, of which the Persians make great use, under the name of "liban." I observe that, for want of a more intimate knowledge of the character of the Persian peasantry, my friend, in his Journal, notes all these visits, as proceeding from motives of interest, and not of friendship. Now, I am bound to declare, that there was not one of this class of visitors, on whom I could prevail to accept a pecuniary return for the present he made. The general request was for

something to keep in remembrance of me,—a knife, a pen-knife, or a pair of scissors. I hope the reader need scarcely be told, that I never accepted their favorite kid: to carry it along with me, would have been inconvenient—to have killed it, would have been sacrilege. I advert to these, and such like trifling circumstances, in the hope, that a disclosure of them may soften the injurious opinion, formed by some persons, of the Persian character, from the perusal of books written by such as had only the opportunity of viewing them superficially, or of books published with the avowed design of amusing the idle, by the recital of absurd tales, or extravagant caricature. I have said already, and I repeat it, that the greater part of the vices of which the Persians of all classes are accused, arises from the nature of their government. For instance, when force can, at any time, deprive a man of his all, does it not follow, that he will easily reconcile himself to the not being over nice in the means he takes afterwards to recruit his finances? He who attempts to make us believe, that the inhabitants of cities in Persia, and the Persian peasantry, are, in moral character, the same, knows little or nothing of what he is talking about; and he, who imagines that the Persian peasants of Fars, Irak, Azarbaijan, or any other province, all possess the same moral qualities, is equally ignorant. Even in this country, it is easy to perceive a distinctive difference, in

the manners, in the habits, and, consequently, in the character, of the peasants of different counties. The greater part of man's moral qualities, is formed by circumstances, over which he, as an individual, has little or no power—such as climate, government, propensity to imitation, and (reader, you may laugh at me if you please,) the food which is in general use in the country, in which he is born, and resides.

It was at this halting-place, that the Prince Governor of Schyras paid me the compliment of ordering one of his own tents to be pitched for my accommodation. It was splendidly large, and lined throughout with the finest Mazulipatnam chintz. The next day was to be a day of great bustle, and much of the intervening time was spent in arranging the ceremony of my entrance into Schyras. The principal difficulty was, to obtain an order from the Government, that the Khans appointed to meet me, should dismount, whilst I received their compliments on horseback. This proposition was, for some time, resisted; and the reason given was, that the noblemen intended to be sent to compliment me, were distantly related to the King of Persia. Mine for insisting on receiving this mark of respect, were, that, in Persia, I was the appointed, *and now acknowledged*, representative of my Sovereign. This business, which some persons may incline to think a ridiculous one, and carried, on my part, further than it

merited, was, in point of fact, an important one; and, at one time, it seemed to assume so serious an aspect, that I threatened to remain where I was, to dispatch a representation to Tæheran, and await the decision upon it, of His Persian Majesty and his Ministers. About eight in the evening, one of the Prince's secretaries came to me, and acquainted me that my demand was acceded to, after a sitting of the Prince's council, which lasted some hours; where it was determined, "that a "person authorized to represent a King, was "higher in dignity than the relation of a King, "particularly if, as in the present case, the rela- "tionship was not a very near one." This decision was extremely important; and, knowing the use I could make of it at Tæheran, to stop, *in limine*, many idle pretensions, likely to be made in my intercourse with various noblemen there, I begged that it might be communicated to me in writing; and I was promised that this should be done after I had entered the city.* The procession, which issued from the city to meet the Mission, was very honorable and large; and as we approached it, the crowd became immense.

I see that Mr. Sheridan in his journal, observes: "that the Mehmandar was unusually alert, and "that owing to his great exertions, we got into "the city without being much annoyed;" but that, notwithstanding what had been communi-

* This was never done.

cated to me the night before, "there was some "hesitation on the part of the Khans who came "out to meet Sir Harford, as to dismounting from "their horses at the Ambassador's approach, most "of them being related to the royal family.* "However, Sir Harford positively declared, that "he would not move on a step farther, unless "they did so, and they were obliged to comply." On reaching the lodging appointed for the embassy, we found spread for us a superb collation of sweetmeats, &c., and Abdullah Khan, the son of the Prime Minister, came shortly afterwards to compliment me on my arrival.

Well, I am now in Schyras! but with what different feelings, under what different circumstances, to those experienced in my former visits to this city! Where is the noble Sovereign, *the true lion of war*, to whose presence I was familiarly admitted whenever I chose to seek the honor?—betrayed and cruelly destroyed. Where is the royal child, whose innocent tattle gave me so much pleasure? alas! alive,—but most inhumanely mutilated! Where is the scoundrel, whose mad

* I strongly advise those who have to negociate or transact any other business with the Persians, never to lose their temper on account of any extraordinary propositions which they may bring forward; nor, when knowing themselves to be in the right, ever to despair of carrying their point by proper perseverance. In such matters the Persians uniformly act on this principle. Shud, sheed, ne shud heich: viz. if I succeed, I succeed; if I fail, there is no harm done.

ambition, and black heart, brought ruin on his confiding King, and misery the most severe on his fellow-citizens?—gone, I hope, trust, and believe, to receive a just punishment for his most atrocious villainies. Where is that great, good, and amiable Minister, Meerza Mohammed Hossein, whose conversation was a charm, and whose most hospitable mansion was always open to me? Where is the little, worthy, laughing Khorassaunee Seyd, whose humble doors were never shut against me, and whose willing services anticipated my wishes? Where is Mohammed Ally Behbehaunee, my old humorist Mehmander? Where is Mohammed Ally, the joyous fat merchant, who took care of me, and managed my little concerns in the year 1786, when I first visited Schyras? Where are numerous other kind and humble friends, with whom, when Persia was a new world to me, I rambled about, and loitered or feasted in the Baug-el-Vakeel, the Hafezeah, the tomb of Sadee, or the Heft-tun?—Gone! gone for ever. What was I then? My own master—willing to please and be pleased—enjoying, with almost a child's delight, every thing and every body! What am I now? A man bound down to ceremony—a man whose situation is envied by many—who, instead of enjoying a fearless, careless, joyous intercourse with the Persians who visit him, is obliged to measure almost every word he utters to them, and to reflect on almost every sentence which they

address him in return! Could any *Jin* or *Deeve* appear, and say, "If you will cast off your present "fine trappings, I will restore all you lament." I trust the reader will give me credit for sufficient good taste, to believe that I would willingly take the preternatural agent at his word.

Such reflections the next day forced themselves on me with additional power, in consequence of finding myself obliged to hint to one of the gentlemen, that his farther attendance on the Mission would be dispensed with. He had treated me, at my own table, with disrespect, by giving orders to my servants on a point of ceremony, not only without consulting me, but in direct contradiction to my general regulations on the subject. He had the choice of apology or departure; he chose the latter. He was a person of some ability, and of more pretension, and, I incline to think, he expected to be more consulted in the proceedings of the Mission, than I considered it either useful or proper he should. As I was extremely anxious to live on the strictest terms of friendly intercourse with all the gentlemen composing my suite, this little untoward affair gave me much vexation.

This day Nasr Oollah Khan, the Prime Minister, paid me a visit. He was a man stricken with years, of no prepossessing appearance; and his manners, in comparison with those of the ministers with whom I had been accustomed to have intercourse, during the reign of the Zunds, were extremely coarse, and almost disgusting.

The 1st of January was the day fixed for my public reception by the Prince Governor,—for an account of which, I am glad to turn to my friend's Journal.

"At 12 o'clock we set out, accompanied by our "Mehmander, Mohammed Zikea Khan, who pre- "ceded Sir Harford, and cleared the way for him. "Before Sir Harford, were led seven horses, with "English saddles and bridles, each led by a Persian "groom on horseback, and the whole headed by Sir "Harford's European groom, in scarlet and gold "livery. The gentlemen of the Embassy followed "Sir Harford according to their rank, and the rear "was brought up by Lieutenant Willock, at the "head of his troop. The streets of Schyras, gene- "rally speaking, are very narrow, and in some "places scarcely admit of two horsemen riding "abreast. The houses are built with brick, but "present no windows to the street. We were led "much out of the way of the straight road to the "palace, in order that the spectacle might be pro- "longed. At last we entered the Vakeel's bazaar, "built by Kerçùm Khan; in the centre of which, "in a kind of balcony, the Cutwal, or Superintend- "ant of Police, was sitting performing the duties "of his office.* He rose at Sir Harford's approach,

* My excellent friend, I see, has omitted to mention in his Journal, what the Persians thought was the very pink of attention. On my approach to the Cutwal, a fellow was thrown down to be bastonadoed, and on my coming opposite, the Cutwal called out, in a loud voice,—*Aff kirdaham!*—"I have pardoned you."

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On Stone by A. Parker

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A Russian Soldier, at Silistria.

Sketched from Life by Sir I. Sutherland.

Engraved by J. Neagle

Lutf Ally Khan. Aetat 20.

From a Picture in the Palace at Schynis

" and made him an obeisance, which the Ambassa-
" dor returned. Having passed through the whole
" length of this bazaar, we entered a spacious
" court, which led to another, and that again to a
" third — and all these courts were lined with
" people. We then reached the gate of the build-
" ing in which the audience was to take place. At
" this gate we dismounted, and found the Master of
" the Ceremonies, and his suite, ready to receive us.
" On passing through the gateway, we entered an
" oblong square walled garden, through the middle
" of which a bread straight line to a building in the
" centre was drawn, and which lead to this building.
" There was a canal, twelve or thirteen feet wide,
" filled with pure water, and fountains at regular
" distances, which were playing. On each side of
" the canal was a broad pavement of coarse
" marble, on which the Prince's battle-axe guard,
" and other troops, were drawn up in line.
" Amongst these was a person who had been an
" inferior Russian officer, who had been made a
" prisoner in some of the skirmishes between the
" Persians and the Russians, and who had been
" prevailed on (outwardly at least) to profess the
" Mohammedan religion, and was now called, by
" the Persians, Peer Russ Khan. The drummer
" belonging to the regiment had been captured
" also at the same time; he now stood by the side
" of his officer, and the Persians regarded him as an
" accomplished performer. We passed along one

" side of the pavement, between the canal and the " troops, and at the stations where the Persians " made an obeisance, we lifted our hats. We had a " considerable distance, therefore, to walk, before " we entered the room, at the corner of which the " Prince was sitting, on a very fine nummud. His " dress was a white brocade, over which was " loosely thrown a superb shawl cloak, and on his " shoulders, a magnificent sable tippet. Before " him was placed a gold enamelled plate, contain- " ing, as I thought, comfits of some sort; but I " was afterwards told they were loose pearls for " the Prince to play with, when he was so dis- " posed.

" On his head he wore a Persian cap, with a " very beautiful shawl twisted round it, his fingers " were loaded with rings that made a great show; " and the hilt of his poignard, as well as that of " his sabre, was covered with precious stones; " in short, his dress and appearance were splendid " and princely. The Prince's name is Hassan Aly; " he is a fine youth, is very handsome, and his " manners very engaging. Immediately opposite " to him stood Nasr Oollah Khan, his Minister. " At the upper end of the room, in a line with the " Prince, and on his left hand, the Ambassador was " seated, and below him the gentlemen, according " to their rank. The Prince's three favorites, " Eusoof Beg, the Georgian, Abdullah Khan, the " Prime Minister's son, and our Mehmander Zikea

" Khan, stood to the left of the Prince, below the " gentlemen of the Embassy; whilst Jafer Aly " Khan, as being British Agent, was, notwith- " standing his being a Persian, allowed to sit down. " Though Sir Harford spoke Persian as fluently as " he did English, still, at first, whatever he ad- " dressed to the Prince, was repeated to him by " Nasr Oollah Khan; but it was not long before " this tiresome ceremony was dropped. We were " served with coffee and caleans, and, after a stay " of something more than half an hour, we re- " turned home in the same order which had been " observed on our coming to the palace."

But, previously to this interview with the Prince, which Mr. Sheridan has justly described, I had been engaged in a pretty sharp discussion with Nasr Oollah Khan respecting a claim of the Prince to invest me, on this occasion, with a dress of honour, to which, as representing my Sovereign, I thought it my duty not to submit; and wishing to close such matters once for all, I told Nasr Oollah,—" I not only will not consent to receive " one from the Prince, but if the same proposition " should be made to me at Teheran, depend on it " nothing in the world shall induce me to accede " to it." Seeing me so determined, Nasr Oollah withdrew his proposal, and it was never after renewed, either at Schyras or Teheran.

I return to my friend's Journal. " The King

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" of Persia has just prohibited the use of Cash-
" mere shawls, or rather confined it to the Princes
" of the blood, and some few individuals of very high
" rank. It is said that this edict has been issued
" principally with a view to improve and benefit
" the manufactures at Korman, where a shawl is
" now made of so delicate a texture as almost to
" rival that of Cashmere. The day on which we
" entered Schyras, Sir Harford wore a shawl cloak,
" which, of course impressed the multitude with a
" very high opinion of his rank.

" Now, I have been told the true reason why
" the King prohibited the promiscuous use of the
" Cashmere shawl, arises from a circumstance
" which took place some little time ago. A mer-
" chant arrived from Cashmere, bringing with
" him a quantity of the most beautiful and elegant
" shawls, for which he demanded the most extra-
" vagant price. They were exhibited to the King,
" and from amongst them he selected three or
" four for his own use, for which the merchant
" demanded 3,000 dollars each. At this price the
" King refused to purchase; but some of his
" wives hearing of the circumstance, and of the
" extreme beauty of the shawls, contrived, in one
" of his pliant moods, to coax the King to purchase
" them. The merchant was accordingly sent for
" the next day, and ordered to bring with him the
" shawls which his Majesty had selected, and was,

" at the same time, told that he should receive for
" them the price he had demanded. The merchant,
" of course, attended; but was dreadfully alarmed
" when obliged to acknowledge that he had sold
" the shawls. ' How!' said the King, ' sold
" ' the shawls which I considered as being too
" ' dear for me to purchase! Pray to whom have
" ' you sold them?'—' Please your Majesty, I sold
" ' them to a muleteer.' The King appeared
" thunder-struck, and sent for the muleteer, to
" whom he said, ' How is it that you can afford to
" ' purchase articles which I consider too dear,
" ' even for a King? what use could you have for
" ' such shawls? go, and bring them to me imme-
" ' diately.' ' Please your Majesty,' replied the
" muleteer, ' the shawls are no longer in my pos-
" ' session—they are disposed of.'—' How! how!'
" said the King, ' to whom?'—' Please your Majesty,
" ' I gave them to my wife, and she has cut them
" ' up for trousers for herself.'—' Well,' said the
" King, ' I hear, every now and then, that my
" ' subjects complain of the weight of the taxes
" ' which they pay, and of the presents they are,
" ' at stated times, obliged to make; but surely I
" ' do not very severely oppress them, when a
" ' muleteer can purchase for his wife what, but
" ' for their importunity, I should have refused to
" ' purchase for mine.'"

Now I have principally extracted this little story

for the purpose of telling the reader that, in Persia, persons of very humble condition* scarcely ever refuse their wives a jewel or a piece of finery which they can, in any shape, manage to purchase; and I have been informed by persons to whom credit is due, that, with the merchants of wealth, their wives are as richly dressed as those of the King. It is much the same case in Turkey, as the reader may see by turning to the lively and instructive pages of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. In Europe, because our information on the subject is necessarily very scanty, and what we have mostly very incorrect, we are apt to consider the Asiatic ladies as being miserably ill-treated; but, from the little I know of the matter, I am convinced, that most of them have a great deal more their own way, and are made much more of, than is generally supposed. Women, in most parts of Asia, are regarded but in one light; but this is the very light which makes men, in general, profuse in their presents to them, and makes them also the most anxious about their dress. Europe may be the Paradise of old women, but Asia is, assuredly, that of the young and beautiful. The splendid paraphernalia of the bath, the ostentatious

* It frequently happens in Persia, that the muleteer is richer than the merchant who employs him. I remember one of this class who was master of more than two hundred and fifty mules, besides twenty yaboos, or pack-horses.

manner in which it is laid out, the envy it creates, may console an Eastern lady for the want of a London equipage. The slaves she has at her command, the luxurious entertainments which she can give her neighbours and friends, and which they return to her, in the private apartments of their husbands' houses, are, in their estimation, full as gay—and certainly, with ladies of high rank, full as splendid—as any London parties. I have heard of a lady, during the course of one of these entertainments, changing her dress twenty times, each dress richer than the former.* Perhaps the ladies in Persia, previously to the introduction of Mohammedanism, enjoyed more personal freedom than they do now; for I consider it certain, that many of the most severe dicta of the Koran, on this subject, came into Mohammed's head, in consequence of the freaks of his own pretty, but termagant and intriguing wife, Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bekr.

On the 2nd January, I paid my first visit, that of ceremony, to the Prince's Prime Minister; of which Mr. Sheridan gives the following account:—

"At the door of the Minister's house we were re-
"ceived by Abdullah Khan, his son. We were
"shown into a very elegant room, the lower part

* The Paulos exhibited this Eastern custom, on their return to Venice, to their friends and relations.—See *Marco Paulo's Travels, Marsden's Translation.*

" of the walls of which were lined with marble.
" The fire-place was ornamented with cut-glass;
" and in the centre of the room were three very
" handsome stands, on which chafing dishes were
" placed, and charcoal burning; on the top of
" which stood Isfahaun quinces, which, as they
" burnt, emitted a very pleasant odour. Before
" the windows, which were open to a small gar-
" den, there was a tank, or basin of water, in
" which three fountains were playing, the ice hav-
" ing been broken for that purpose. The Isfa-
" haun quinces have a most peculiarly fine flavor:
" they never become completely mellow, and al-
" ways retain, more or less, a rough taste; never-
" theless, they are very delicious, and grow to a
" much larger size than any apple I ever saw.—The
" Minister and Sir Harford conversed a long time
" on different subjects, and the Ambassador gave
" him a very detailed and particular account of
" the battle of Friedland; but the Khan was
" dreadfully puzzled to comprehend where Am-
" sterdam was situated. Nasr Oollah Khan was
" splendidly dressed, and his smoking apparatus
" was very fine and costly. He is about sixty-
" seven years of age, and it is now four years that
" he has acted as Prime Minister to the Prince
" Governor. There is in his manners a degree of
" plainness, and apparent sincerity, seldom found
" amongst the Persians. He is said to be a good

" man, as well as a sensible one. Our Mehmandar " now entered the room with some degree of agi- " tation and hurry, and said, that the Prince had " ordered him to attend on a hunting party the " next day. He came, therefore, he said, to be- " seech the Minister, that he would point out *to* " *the young man* the impropriety of his (the Meh- " mandar's) quitting the Ambassador during his " residence at Schyras. Accordingly, the head " eunuch was sent for, and returned with a mes- " sage from the Minister to the Prince, which set- " tled the matter to the satisfaction of the Meh- " mandar and Sir Harford. This person is an " Abyssinian, and is said to have considerable in- " fluence with the King; to be extremely invete- " rate where he dislikes, and to be equally warm " and friendly towards those for whom he pro- " fesses a liking. Sir Harford and the Minister " retired to a private conference, and Abdullah " Khan, who had hitherto stood outside of the " window, when his father left the room, came and " sat with us."

Some account of this conference may be expected, and as nearly as my memory serves me, I will relate it.

The Minister, Persian-like, began with many praises of myself and my conduct, and with very many expressions of the happiness it afforded him to make the acquaintance of a person of whom,

from all classes of the inhabitants of Schyras, he had heard so much—that the Prince Governor had ordered him to assure me, his Royal Highness was disposed, not only to pay me particular attention whilst I remained in Schyras, but also to contribute all in his power to the success of my Mission—that the season was extremely inclement to travel in—that he hoped I might be disposed to honor the city of Schyras with my presence, and pass my time amongst my old friends, till the weather became milder, and the spring opened—and that, in such case, the Court and the city would do all in their power to amuse and please me.—To the first part of all this, I answered with the common routine of complimentary words; to the second I replied, if a choice were in my power, of either presently prosecuting my journey, or remaining at Schyras till the season opened, I should, on many accounts, prefer the latter; but that it was *duty*, and not *choice*, which was to guide all my proceedings—that my positive orders were, to lose no time in proceeding to the presence of His Persian Majesty—and to the presence of His Majesty I must go, let the weather or inconvenience to myself, be what they might.—He said, that I had no idea of the severity of the winter, beyond Isfahaun—that I was not very young—and that, apparently, my constitution was not of the strongest.—"You may be right," said I, "as

"to the two first; but, in respect to the last, you "are deceived. I have borne, and I can bear, "great fatigue. But I am now placed in a situa- "tion, that I must not suffer what *may* happen "to myself, to cross my mind."—He then said, abruptly, "But, supposing I was appointed to "negociate with you, and the King should wish "the place of negociation to be Schyras, what "would you say to that? would it not save much "time?"

I said, "Hear me,* Nasr Oollah Khan. Is this "spoken of only as a thing which you yourself "think might be convenient and agreeable; or "are you authorized, either by the Prince, your "master, or from Tæheran, to make such a pro- "position? for, according to your reply, I shall "shape mine to your question."—He said, that the proposition came from himself; though, he would confess, he was not sure, that some idea of the sort might not be entertained in *their minds*, at Tæheran.

"I have uniformly heard you represented," said I, "as a plain, straightforward nobleman; and I "trust, that, in all the intercourse we may have, "you will find my conduct to be guided by these "principles. I tell you, therefore, that, from what "quarter soever this proposition comes, I cannot, "and I will not, accede to it; and that, if it be

* *Goosh-kun*—"Lend your ear."

" pressed, I will resist it by every means in my
" power; and ultimately, if necessary, I will form-
" ally protest against it. Now, do not mistake
" me. No part of what I have said, applies to your
" being the person appointed to negociate with
" me, if such should be the King of Persia's plea-
" sure; for it is my duty to negociate with whom-
" soever he nominates as his Plenipotentiary, or
" Plenipotentiaries. But I trust, that you will not
" be offended, if I say, I fear, from the proposi-
" tion you have made, that you are not very con-
" versant in the forms prescribed on such occa-
" sions. In the first place, I *must* have the honor
" in person, to present to the King of Persia the
" credentials granted me by my Sovereign; and
" he must accept, and acknowledge that letter of
" credence, before I can properly act as British
" Minister at his Court. This alone, you see, my
" friend, is a bar, *in limine*, to the acceptance by
" me, of any proposition of the sort you have
" made. This done, I do not know that I am en-
" titled to decline proceeding to any place, at
" which the King of Persia might judge it proper
" that the Plenipotentiaries should meet; but I
" think, that, after so long a journey, I should be
" entitled, not only to complain, but delicately to
" remonstrate, against the conferences being held
" anywhere but at the capital. I shall not ex-
" press, to the King or his Ministers, the most

" distant opinion or wish, as to any particular
" person being appointed to negociate with me;
" but you must perceive, from what I have already
" said, that I must go to Tæheran, and be admit-
" ted to the King's presence, and acknowledged
" by him as British Minister, before I can treat
" with anybody; and if the King should fix on
" yourself as his Plenipotentiary, and Schyras as
" the place of conference, I must return here,
" which will cause a great loss of time; or, if His
" Majesty fixes on Tæheran as the place of con-
" ference, and you the Plenipotentiary, it will pro-
" bably be inconvenient, and may be disadvanta-
" geous to you, to leave the Prince Governor for
" so long a time; but, if otherwise, even in that
" case there will be a great loss of time. I know
" Meerza Sheffee was appointed His Persian Ma-
" jesty's Plenipotentiary, to negociate with Ge-
" neral Gardanne; and, to be plain and open with
" you, I will confess, that, if the person were left
" to my choice, I should prefer him. First, on
" account of his rank, as Prime Minister of the
" Kingdom, and the great confidence the King re-
" poses in him;—from which I could rationally
" expect, that many minor points would be settled,
" and cut short, without the necessity of reference
" to the King and the other Ministers: and, se-
" condly, because, from his having previously ne-
" gociated with General Gardanne, I should, in
" the course of our conferences, have ample op-

" portunities of pointing out to Meerza Sheffee, " many circumstances respecting the French Mis- " sion, which, though his penetration and experi- " ence are no doubt very great, seem, hitherto, to " have escaped his consideration." The Prince's Minister attempted to answer, by saying, I was already acknowledged as British Minister by the Prince, who had treated me, and who had ordered me to be treated as such.—" My dear Sir, I cannot " mean to offend the Prince Governor, nor your- " self, but I must directly tell you, that the Prince " Governor has not the power officially to acknow- " ledge me as British Minister to the court of his " father. This power is confined to the King alone. " If I am bound to make this assertion as matter of " business, it becomes me also to express to you, " and through you to the Prince, the grateful re- " membrance I shall ever cherish of the very " honorable and kind manner in which he has " caused me to be treated, and treated me himself." Here our conversation on this interesting subject ended; and, before I left the Minister, I said to him :—" I am already, no doubt, under many obli- " gations to you; and these, now that I am in " Schyras, are daily increasing,—but the greatest " obligation you can confer on me, will be, by every " means in your power, to hasten my departure to " the presence."

It will easily be imagined, that this conference afforded me much matter for reflection, and also

gave me some uneasiness; but the more I turned in my mind the principles I had laid down to Nasr Oollah, the more I became convinced of their rectitude and justness; and consequently the firmer was my determination, under all possible circumstances, to act upon them. It was most apparent to me, that for whatever purpose General Malcolm had returned to Calcutta, it could not be for one which accorded with my views of the case; and although, on looking over the instructions I had received from His Majesty's Government, I did not find myself in any shape put under the orders of the Governor-General of India, yet common sense told me, that I should do right to attend, as far as it lay in my power, to such wishes as he might express; and to conduct my negociations, should it be possible, in conformity with his views, when made known to me. I then thought it however but too probable, from the representations made to him by General Malcolm, that he would adopt measures which, when once made known to the Persian Ministers, would increase the difficulty of negociating with them. But, God knows, I did not, I could not foresee, that under any representation he would have recourse to the hasty and violent steps which he adopted; nor could I imagine that, after the praise he bestowed on my conduct at Bombay towards General Malcolm and his mission, and the thanks he gave me for it, he would so soon turn round, and heap upon me accusations equally false

and groundless. Lord Minto, Governor General, is no more, and unluckily for me this happened before I had an opportunity of conferring with him on the footing of one gentleman with another; and of asking him for an explanation of his injurious and unjust inveteracy against me; and perhaps, too, of convincing him how little I deserved it. The proverb says, "de mortuis nil nisi bonum." Yet I am compelled to declare, that as far as respects myself and the Mission with which I was charged, I can say of Lord Minto, "nil nisi malum;" and, therefore, in this memoir, I will say of him as little as I can help.

The reader will, perhaps, recollect what took place at Ally Changee with Mohammed Nebee; and the information I drew from him in our evening conference; if he does, he will not wonder that I now looked for the return of the messenger from Meerza Bozurg with considerable impatience. I am glad to find, however, from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, that in all this agitation of mind, I did not forget my old friend, the Reis.

"Sir Harford, in his conference this morning "with the Minister, took occasion to mention the "situation of the old Reis, and his apprehensions "for his safety; and Bruce afterwards was sent "for, and told to tell Sir Harford that the Minister "had ordered commands to be issued, in the "Prince's name, to Mahommed Nebee Khan, di-"recting that the old Reis should be at perfect "liberty to do whatever he pleased, and to go

" where he wished." What follows in the Journal " will, no doubt, make the reader smile. " Jaafer " Ally Khan told us that it had been intimated to " his wife from the interior of the palace, that the " Queen (*i.e.* the Prince's mother, who resides " with him) has resolved to send the Ambassador " various dishes of the very best cookery, *pre-* " *pared by her own hands.*"

On the 3d January, I rejoiced to receive the intelligence, that that most able and amiable diplomatist, Sir Robert Adair, was arrived at, and received as British Ambassador at Constantinople; and I see from the Journal, that I immediately sent off, in cypher dispatches, acquainting him with the situation of our affairs in Persia. But the day was destined to produce me a still greater pleasure, for, in the evening, whilst sitting by myself, in my private apartments, it was announced to me, that a person, calling himself Hajee Eusoof, in company with another person, who had the appearance of having newly arrived from a journey, desired to speak with me. I gave orders for their admittance. Reader, judge of my surprise and delight, when I beheld my old and excellent friend Hajee Eusoof, the head jeweller to his late Majesty Lutf Ally Khan, accompanied by the person whom Abdullah Aga had sent with my message to Meerza Bosurg. As Hajee Eusoof had neither come out to meet me, nor come to me since my arrival, I concluded him to be dead. Those to whom it has

ever happened, after a very long and distant separation, to meet a friend, and that friend one who had thoroughly proved himself to be such, will easily conceive the feeling with which I met Hajee Eusoof. All ceremony was set aside—we ran to each other and embraced, the old man sobbing out, "*Al Hamdullah toura baz deedam*"—God be praised I see you again."

After such greetings, which lasted some time, were finished, the old man said, "Your messenger "to Meerza Bosurg has just arrived at my house, "and has brought me a letter from him, in which "he desires me to wait on you, in company with "the messenger." The man then gave me a letter from Meerza Bozurg, which was very cool and very short, the purport of which, after a profusion of compliments, was, "I have received your letter, "and you must not give credit to all the idle tales "you hear." I told the messenger to go and rest himself, and that next day I would dispatch him to Bushire with a letter for his master, Abdullah Aga.

The messenger had scarcely quitted the room before Hajee Eusoof pulled out a sort of little blue purse, from which he took a letter, which, the instant I saw it, I knew to be the Meerza's own hand-writing. This letter was addressed to me, and to the following purport:—

"My dear friend—You did perfectly right in "applying to Abdullah Aga, and in sending me a

" verbal message, instead of writing to me. I have " seen the whole of your correspondence, to the " present time, with the Ministers at Tæheran, " and if I had been at your elbow it could not " have been better. What Mohammed Nebee " told you is true, and how he came to tell it you " I cannot imagine. I have no doubt you will take " the proper method *to disperse the cloud* when " you get to Schyras, and you may be as impor- " tunate as you please with the Prince: if, after " all, you should find any *suspicious delay*, write " *strongly* on the subject to Meerza Sheffee. The " French at Tæheran are moving heaven and earth " to prevent your coming to the presence—but " come you will, *and come you shall.* Meerza " Sheffee will be appointed to negociate with you, " and he will not stir a step without me. I give " you joy; your Ambassador has been received " at Constantinople, and all matters between you " and the Turks are settled. This is well for us, " and well for you. Whatever private commu- " nication you have to make from Schyras, make " it through Hajee Eusoof, my old worthy neigh- " bour, and your old and true friend. Remember, " the fire tells no tales;* you know what I mean. " —Adieu."

* " *Autish derroug neme guoyad*," " Fire tells no lies," a Persian proverb, meaning fire proves all things, either their worth or worthlessness—and that nothing once committed to it, can afterwards rise in accusation against you.

The old jeweller and I sat long together, for I found he had much to say to me from Meerza Bozurg, and I had much to say to him of former times, and much to ask of him concerning the present. I was very sorry to learn from him, that when Aga Mohammed Khan captured Schyras, he had been heavily fined and personally ill-treated. The old man said, "Enough, however, is left me "to live very comfortably, the Prince is very kind "to me, and things in Persia now look so settled, "that I think they will, at all events, last my time." Before we parted, I said, "My dear good old friend, "I have not had time to say one-half of what I "wish to you; I hope, whilst I am here, you will "come and visit me often, for my dinner hour is "now approaching, and I cannot very well excuse "my not appearing at it." "I will visit you "again," he said, "but it cannot be often, for "reasons I will communicate to you when we "meet again. I would willingly ask the favor of "you to come once more and sup with me, in my "little room, where we were formerly so merry "and happy; but your present rank forbids this, "nnless I were to ask the Prince's permission to "give you a public entertainment, which would "only raise against your old friend the jealousy "and envy of his equals. The Meerza," continued he, "will expect an answer, *to his communications, "from yourself:* that part which you have told "me shall be faithfully written to him; and you

" had better do to him as he does to you, confine " your letter to an acknowledgment of his letter, " and some few words of general import. I shall " have a messenger ready to-morrow." There was a chafing-dish, with fire, in the room. " There " is one thing more," said I, " that you must tell " him—*that you saw his second letter burnt;*" and I put it on the top of the charcoal. I then added, " Hajee, I know, by experience, the abundance " and elegance of your table too well to think that " one guest coming in unexpectedly can put you " to inconvenience; and, depend upon it, before " I leave this city, I will take some favorable " opportunity to come privately, and alone, and " renew our ancient compact of bread and salt." And I kept my word.

From this dull detail I will relieve the reader, by turning again to Mr. Sheridan's Journal:— " This day, January the 4th, we dined with the " Minister, who had made great preparations for " our reception. We mounted our horses, to pro- " ceed to his house, just before sunset; and at the " door of the house we found an immense crowd " assembled, through which we did not pass with- " out difficulty, nor until our Mehmandar had " dealt his blows around him with proper liber- " ality. Abdullah Khan, the Minister's son, re- " ceived us at the door; and our entrance was the " signal for the entertainment to begin. We were " ushered into the same room in which we had sat

" on our first visit; and in the centre of the gar-
" den before it, a tight rope was erected, on which
" a dancer began to exhibit, and beneath him,
" tumblers of various descriptions were perform-
" ing different feats; some turning rapidly round,
" with naked daggers stuck in their girdles, others
" with them in their hands; but neither the per-
" formances of the rope-dancer, nor of the tum-
" blers, were worth much notice. The first, how-
" ever, hanging from the rope by his feet, with his
" head downwards, shot off a musket, and broke
" an egg placed under him on the ground.* Im-
" mediately in the front of the windows were
" fifteen musicians, with different instruments, but
" from which no very melodious sounds proceeded.
" We had, on entering, all been ranged according
" to our rank; but now some of us got up to have
" a nearer view, and approached the window, out-
" side of which we saw Abdullah Khan, very at-
" tentive to our wants, if we had any, and pointing
" out to us the different feats of the rope-dancer,
" which he thought worthy of notice. In Persia,
" a son never presumes, in public, to sit down in
" the presence of his father. Refreshments were
" now brought in; first coffee and kaleans; then
" different trays of various sweetmeats, pomegra-

* It is necessary I should explain, that this feat was performed on the slack, and not on the tight rope, as my friend states, and that it took place when the rope was on full swing. But I am quite sure that the egg was broken by the explosion of the powder alone, and not by a bullet, as the Persians wished us to believe.

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A Calcanee, or Calean-Bearer.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

" nate and other ices, comfits, sugared almonds,
" and a variety of other things of the same sort.
" It is indeed incredible, the quantity of confec-
" tionary that is consumed in this town. Trays
" upon trays are daily sent to the Ambassador, as
" presents; not, I should say, in abundance, but
" in the most unbounded profusion. Very shortly
" after the sweetmeats, a very extraordinary per-
" former made his appearance. A water-spouter
" commenced operations, and contrived to spout
" water from his mouth to a considerable distance,
" for at least a quarter of an hour without inter-
" ruption. The power he must possess over the
" muscles of his stomach, is very astonishing; for
" he can retain the water as long as he pleases, and
" can eject it as often, as much or as little of it,
" as he pleases. He swallows only two bowls of
" water before he begins, whilst double the quan-
" tity appears to be returned. Mohammed Zikia
" Khan assures me, he can swallow three different
" kinds of food, and, separating them in his sto-
" mach, can bring forth that kind which shall be
" called for.* Next appeared the fire-eater, and,
" from a large chafing-dish which he held in his
" hand, he began to help himself to his fiery re-
" past, cutting, at the same time, many capers;
" but whether these were from the gratification
" afforded by the viands, or from finding they
" were dressed too hot, I cannot tell. After he

* None of us were desirous to witness so disgusting a performance, the reality of which I more than doubt.

" had satisfied his hunger, he amused himself with " bringing up the cinders of the greater part of " what he had swallowed. Fire-works were now " let off. They were certainly superior to any " thing of the kind I ever saw. The rockets were " thrown to a prodigious height in the air, and, " bursting, seemed to spread the whole sky with " stars of the finest lustre. Other combustible " preparations were thrown into the basin where " the fountains were playing; these they illumi- " nated most beautifully, and continued for some " time struggling with the liquid element, and " throwing forth stars of different colors; but " whether the preparation was exhausted, or whe- " ther the water extinguished it, became matter of " doubt to us all, as some played much longer than " others. After this, from the two opposite walls " of the garden, commenced, what I must call a " regular engagement of liquid fire, darting a profu- " sion of stars from side to side, and seeming to set " the whole atmosphere in one blaze of flame. It " was certainly, of the kind, the most superb exhi- " bition that can be imagined. It had now been " dark for some time, and all the out-door exhibi- " tions were finished. We returned to our places. " The windows were now shut down, and lights " brought in. In the centre of the room were " placed, on different trays, eight of those very " large candles, which the Persians make of oil " and wax, six in a row down the room, and two

" placed on each side of the one which stood first " at the upper end of the room. Between these " monsters were placed twelve common wax can- " dles, standing in European candlesticks, and de- " fended by glass shades. Kaleans were again " introduced, and all began to smoke and talk. " That which now annoyed me most, was, to see " the Persians sitting on their heels, with their " legs under them, with the utmost ease and com- " posure, whilst all the Europeans (except the " Ambassador, who, in this respect, is a true Per- " sian,) were in torture, from sitting so long, even " in the position in which a tailor works, which " is a comparatively easy one. The Court mode " of sitting, is on the heels; but this was too ar- " duous for any of us to attempt, except the Am- " bassador.

" Four or five musicians, said to be particularly " accomplished ones, were now introduced, two " with instruments, something between the shape " of a guitar and a fiddle; others, with a diff, and " small drum; and another with a wind instru- " ment, much deeper than the flute. The notes " of the stringed instrument were not disagree- " able; and when one of the men accompanied " with his voice, the whole was agreeable enough. " I think the voice of the man was an improve- " ment on one of our best Irish howls. This I " by no means say in ridicule. The concert " finished, a person (the same who had spouted

" water, I believe) appeared with his face whitened,
" to represent the Devil; for in this country, as,
" I believe, all over Asia, his Infernal Majesty
" is depicted white, though we, in Europe, uni-
" formly make him black.* He sung, however,
" two or three songs, which I did not understand;
" but I took them to be about his amours, and,
" on the whole, I thought he acted well.

" When he retired, a little Georgian boy, be-
" longing to our Mehmandar, began to sing, which
" he continued doing for upwards of an hour. His
" voice, however, was much too strong for the
" room in which we sat, though it was tolerably
" large; for it is quite astonishing the distance at
" which he had the power of making himself
" heard, as we had frequently witnessed on the
" road. In general, it was a kind of warble, rather
" harsh to my ears; but the voice of such boys as
" these, who have no idea of music, would, was
" it cultivated, be most wonderful. Before he
" finished, he gave us an imitation of an Hindoos-
" tanee song. The Persians have lately become
" very partial to the Hindoostanee songs.

" Most great men in Persia have boys of this
" description attending them; but the King has
" lately confined this privilege to noblemen
" of the first and highest rank. When the boy

* My friend's knowledge of Persian literature was at that time but scant. This person was designed to represent the Deev-e-sefid of Rustam, and his chaunts were verses from the Shah Nameh.

" ceased to sing, to my great joy,—for I suppose
" we had been sitting for upwards of four hours
" in the uncomfortable position I have formerly
" described,—sweet coffee was announced, which
" is always produced immediately before the meat
" commences, and is a prelude to laying the cloth.
" It is nothing more than a syrup, strong of dif-
" ferent spices, and served up quite hot. The
" Persian table-cloth is of Masulipatam chintz, and
" very narrow, and very long. One of these was
" placed across at the head of the room, and two
" others along each side. We sat down, about
" twenty-two persons, and before each was placed
" a round, flat, bread cake, about as large as a
" middling-sized dish. Dinner was now brought
" in, and it consisted of all manner of things—
" fish, flesh, and fowl—with large plates of boiled
" rice, piled up in a sugar-loaf form. Some of
" these were of their natural color; others were
" stained yellow, purple, and red. Under the rice,
" but completely hid, were pieces of boiled lamb,
" kid, or game; some plain boiled, others highly
" seasoned. The roasts, as well as the other
" meats, are served up what we should call much
" over-done, in order that little or no force may
" be necessary in separating any part of it, as the
" Persians, in eating, make use of their fingers
" only. The Persians use a great deal of sugar,
" raisins, other fruits, and sweet ingredients, in
" their cookery. Salt is but little used at table,

" though it is always placed there. The dinner " was served in the greatest profusion; and I am " confident that, after we had dined, enough was " carried out, to satisfy the appetites of fifty of the " most hungry men that could be found in the " city. It is also the custom in Persia, on occa- " sions like this, for the master of the house to " feed all the attendants on his guests; so that I " am convinced, that five times more was pro- " vided for those out of the room, than for those " within. It is considered, at a Persian entertain- " ment, a compliment, for a person to offer you a " piece out of the dish which stands before him, " which he does with his hands; and this you are " expected to receive and devour with particular " satisfaction—to do otherwise, would be held as " a great piece of incivility and rudeness, if not " insult. Nasr Oollah Khan favored the Ambas- " sador with this unenviable mark of his respect; " and the latter, with a coolness that surprised us " all, set about eating it immediately. At this " dinner, amongst the other guests, there was the " person who had been sent down from Schyras, " to seize Shaik Abdul Ressoul; and who on visit- " ing the Ambassador had received a severe re- " buke for his improper behaviour, which, by some " means or other had come to the ears of the " Minister.* It so happened, that when the com- " pany were placing themselves, some civilities " passed between this person and his neighbour,

* *Vide* Page 40.

" on the point of precedence, which Nasr Oollah
" Khan observing, called out to him :—' Nasackjee
" ' Bashi ! you ought to be much obliged to the
" ' Ambassador for the lesson he gave you at
" ' Bushire, he has taught you that which we
" ' never could—that is, to behave like a gentle-
" ' man.' The Minister then quietly said to Sir
" Harford :—' I hope you will esteem this suffi-
" ' cient reparation for the affront he was block-
" ' head enough to be guilty of towards you at
" ' Bushire.' We did not remain long before the
" dinner was removed, as wine is never produced
" at any respectable table in Persia."

On my return home I found an express had arrived from Bushire, and with other letters and papers, had brought a dispatch from Lord Minto. Tired and fatigued as I was, I was glad to get to bed, and to defer opening any of them till the next day, the 5th of January, a day most memorable to me, for then began my unfortunate discussions with the Governor-General.

I will once more refer to my friend's Journal. " Sir Harford shewed me a letter he had received
" from Lord Minto, last night, directing him to
" retire from the Persian territories, acquainting
" him that *precautionary measures* would be im-
" mediately taken, and that the Governor-General
" intended to seize on the island of Carrack, in
" the Persian Gulf. After I had finished the letter,
" Sir Harford said very coolly :—' Sheridan ! this

" ' is provoking enough—what can have induced
" ' the Governor-General to act in this manner?
" ' but I trust, before this rash, this unjustifiable
" ' expedition sails from India, my dispatches to
" ' his Lordship will put a stop to it, and thus
" ' save the Company the immense expense,
" ' and the British nation the dishonor which it
" ' will otherwise create. I gave his Lordship
" ' ample proof at Bombay, by my conduct to-
" ' wards Malcolm, that before I really commenced
" ' the duties of my Mission, I was most willing,
" ' and most ready to make all my proceedings
" ' square with his—but now my position is ma-
" ' terially changed, I am in Persia, and I am not
" ' only in Persia, but I am the king's accredited
" ' Minister in Persia, I have my Sovereign's
" ' honor and name to support, and these are
" ' things, which, if necessary, I will support with
" ' my life and fortune—besides which, have I not
" ' the fairest prospect of completely executing
" ' my Sovereign's commands? I will not retire
" ' from Persia, for many reasons, but principally
" ' for this, that by doing so, at this moment, I
" ' should proclaim to the Persians, that the
" ' Governor-General is superior in power to the
" ' King; and this my Welsh blood will never
" ' suffer me to do.' Here then is Sir Harford
" fairly pitted against the Governor-General of
" India, and I fear the Governor-General is little
" aware of the man he has to deal with, and that

" his character and abilities have been much mis-
" represented to him. Sir Harford's resources, in
" all difficulties, appear to me wonderful, and his
" political and physical courage, equal to carry
" him through any thing that can happen."

Reader, forgive me for troubling you with some part of this extract. I beseech you attribute it not to vanity! I hope you will consider it fair, and acknowledge it to be right, that I should, when abused and traduced by Lord Minto, put before you the opinion entertained of me by my countrymen on the spot. Good God Almighty! seize on the Island of Carrack! for what?

" ——— O! but man, proud man,
" Drest in a little brief authority—
" Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven—
" As make the angels weep—who with our spleens
" Would all themselves laugh mortal."

I will reserve all I shall think it necessary to say of Lord Minto's proceedings for a future page, simply stating, that I instantly dispatched to him, in as respectful terms as I could use, my determination to proceed to Court, and my conviction that, under present circumstances, I could not, with prudence and honor, adopt any other course.

The reader, I think, will anticipate my telling him that I sent to my friend, Hajee Eusoof, desiring him to come to me as soon, and as privately as he

could, which summons he very obligingly obeyed. I commenced our long and most interesting conference by saying, "Something has happened in "India which materially affects my position here, "and will, very probably, increase my difficulties "at Tæheran, if I am now permitted to go there." To my surprise, he instantly said, "I understand "you; I knew this last night; and I should have "come to you, if you had not sent for me. Your "Government in India has determined to go to war "with Persia, and they mean to set about it *like* "*very wise and very honorable men;* they mean "to seize on the Island of Carrack, whilst we "have an Ambassador here, from their King, "preaching peace and friendship. The English "character, for honor, wisdom and good sense, "has hitherto, in Persia, stood high; what it will "do from henceforward, I leave you to guess. I "pity you most sincerely; at the same time I "must tell you, if there is any man in the world "who can set all this embroglio to rights, it is "yourself. The thing cannot be concealed; it "was known last night at the palace, where two "very long councils have already been held upon "it. Expresses have been sent off to Tæheran— "the French will have the news of it in five days; "and though we had very nearly turned them on "their backs, I fear they will now regain their "legs, and knock us down. Not a scrap of paper "must pass between you and Meerza Bozurg on

" this subject. I have a man and horse at my " house ready to start, and the rider has an order " from Meerza Bozurg for relays on the road, and " to him I must commit, *verbally*, what you wish " to impart to the Meerza;" and then he playfully added, " put it in as few words as possible, " that it may be the less liable to jolt out of his " head on the road. The great thing you have to " do, is to prove to the Meerza, and let him prove " to his brother Ministers at Tæheran, that you " do possess a power independent of the Gover- " nor-General." " This, my dear friend," said I, " you shall immediately see; and, having seen it, " I hope you will tell the Meerza you have done " so, and that it may be relied on." The case I considered as justifying the disclosure, and I therefore took out my full powers, shewed him the King's signature, the Great Seal of England, and translated to him the general contents of that most honorable document. I never shall forget the joy which beamed in the old man's face, when he exclaimed:—" *Wallah*, (*i. e.* by G—d) you shall pro- " ceed to the King, but you will, I fear, have " much to fight against here, and unless things " are better than I think they are, you must not " expect to move from hence before the Prince " receives an answer from Tæheran, to the des- " patches sent off to day. The merchants inter- " ested in the trade to India, have considerable " influence here and at Court; you are known

" and well known to most of them, and I will " take care, if occasion calls, that they shall " exert themselves, for any purpose for which you " may want them." My friend, at the close of this speech, left me, and in half an hour's time afterwards, the messenger was on his road to Tauris.

In respect to what was necessary immediately to be done at Schyras, I considered it as the wisest, most straight-forward, and honorable plan, to send the Minister a translation of the Governor-General's letter to me; and so leave him either to come to me, or express a wish to see me, just as he pleased. This was done as soon as a translation could be made. I see my friend in his Journal remarks thus:—

" Sir Harford had a long interview, by himself, " with the Minister in the Prince's garden, respect- " ing Malcolm's coming up the Gulf, in a hostile " manner; it is a most unpleasant circumstance, " but I have no doubt that it will be settled " so as not to detain us at Schyras; the conduct " of the Indian Government betrays the greatest " ignorance of this country, and would weary out " any man's patience but Sir Harford's—his object " at present is, in case Malcolm should enter Per- " sia, to get him received as a friend."

It is sufficient for the reader to know, that although the Minister at this conference was at first very violent, it broke up with an impression on my mind, that I had effected with him every

thing which at that time I could reasonably expect. —Previously to the receipt of the dispatches from India, this day had been fixed for me to receive an entertainment from Meerza Abd-ul-deen, the Prince's private Secretary, of which I perceive my friend in his Journal gives a very copious detail; it would be tedious and useless to extract this; though, in some respects, it was on a larger and more liberal scale than the one I had received from the Minister. I find the fire-works noted as superior; and although the body guard of fifty troopers, and ourselves and servants, must have been upwards of 100 horse, when we proceeded to the Meerza's, yet he would not suffer me to send any part of them home, to return for us in the evening, as I had done at the Minister's; but had "ordered his stables to be cleared and cleaned "out, and new head stalls and heel ropes to be "provided for each horse."

Perhaps the following extract of the Journal may amuse. "Here I saw an instrument very like the "Irish dulcimer, it was two feet long or more, and "in shape a hexagon, divided and played on in the "same manner as the Irish dulcimer. Indeed, I "see every day striking similarities between the "Persians and the Irish.

"The Irish are a most polite people—so are the Persians.

"The Irish are poetical—so are the Persians.

"The Irish are fond of drinking to excess—so are the Persians.

"The Irish quarrel in their cups—so do the Persians.

" The lower Irish delight in frays—so do the lower Persians.
" The Irish are a very amorous people—so are the Persians.
" The Irish are very hospitable—so are the Persians.
" The Irish are quick in repartee—so are the Persians.
" The Irish play on the dulcimer—so do the Persians.
" The Irish warble a kind of howl—so do the Persians.

The two last similarities, will, I think, shew with what intention my friend penned the whole.

This day, the 7th of January, I was surprised, though I took it for no bad omen, to receive a message from the Prince, desiring that the Indian cavalry guard might exercise before him. I made no hesitation to comply with his request, and to make the thing more conspicuous, I determined to attend myself, and to desire all the gentlemen of the Mission to accompany me.

Without the walls of Schyras, Kerim Khan had caused a long straight road or walk, about 120 feet wide, nicely gravelled, and planted on each side with chunar trees, (a species of the sycamore) to be laid out. This place was used for various purposes on days of ceremony, rejoicing, or other festivities. Here it was that the cavalry were to perform their manœuvres. As we entered at the bottom of it, that is at the end next the city, we perceived the prince, and his train at the top, putting themselves in motion to meet us. Had I met the Prince by his desire, I should have made some difficulty in dismounting when he approached, but here I had put myself in his way without an invitation, and therefore had no business to begin

a squabble; besides, to tell the plain truth, I was extremely anxious for an opportunity of speaking *directly* to the Prince, in respect to my position, to procure which it was amply worth my while to wave an adherence to strict etiquette—the account Mr. Sheridan gives of the exhibition, is as follows:

"When the Prince approached within one hun-
" dred yards, the Ambassador and suite dismounted,
" but almost instantly remounted, by the desire
" of His Royal Highness. The Prince was dressed
" in sky blue velvet and silver, cut in a most ele-
" gant taste, and the whole front of the dress was
" covered thickly with an embroidery of fine
" pearls. He is an uncommonly handsome youth,
" looked like a Prince, seemed perfectly at his
" ease, and conversed with the Ambassador with
" the utmost familiarity and affability. Sir
" Harford, who never, by any means, loses an
" opportunity, contrived some how or other to
" draw him a little aside from his attendants, and
" then I saw the conversation became very ani-
" mated between them, the Prince every now and
" then smiling, and Sir Harford bowing; but Sir
" Harford's horse, at times, as the cavalry charged,
" annoyed him. At last the Prince put his hand
" on Sir Harford's shoulder, and laughed heartily;
" and we could distinctly hear him say, *baricullah,*
" (*i. e.* well done.) Sir Harford then galloped up
" to Willock, and directed him to draw up the
" troops, to whom he made a speech, in Persian,

" to the following purport:—'Gallant companions " and friends! the Prince of Persia has com- " manded me, in his name, to thank you for the " trouble you have just taken, to express to you " his admiration at your equipment and manœuvres, " and to assure you of his favor and good will.' " The troop then saluted the Prince, and we re- " turned home."

Mr. Sheridan judged rightly; I had contrived to draw the Prince into a very long and very interesting conversation, on the conduct, towards me, of the Governor-General, which his Royal Highness blamed in no very measured terms. He told me I should next day be invited to renew my conference on this subject with his Minister, and made use of some terms which gave me the strongest hopes every thing would be settled to my satisfaction. As soon as I found I could not with propriety detain the Prince longer, I said " *Shah Zadeh!* (*i. e.* Prince) the moment my " country commences hostilities against Persia, I " will deliver myself to your Highness, as a pri- " soner, and I will beseech you to chop off my " head, for I neither could, nor would, wish to " survive so lamentable, and unnatural a warfare." It was on saying this that the Prince gently laid his hand on my shoulder, and said, pretty loud, " *Barricullah!*"

The 8th of January the calaats, or court dresses, were sent for the gentlemen, of which I was glad,

particularly as they were brought to my house, by Eusoof Beg, the Georgian, the Prince's great favorite. Towards the evening I met the Minister in conference, at his own house, agreeably to his invitation. . I opened the conference by saying:—

" My dear Sir, I trust we are now met not to " be angry with one another, but candidiy, and " like brothers, to consult what, at the present " moment, is best to be done for the interests of " our respective countries. Circumstances, I ad- " mit, are untoward; but it is in the arrangement " of such circumstances that the wisdom of a great " Minister, like yourself, becomes conspicuous ; " let both of us, therefore, will the *common good*, " and where there is a *will* there will always be a " *way*." The Minister said all this might be very fine and very true, but though the Prince was independent, and had no occasion to consult the Ministers at Tæheran on matters respecting the Government of his province, still this was a high matter of State, and of Foreign Policy, and he could neither advise the Prince to act in it, until he received an answer to the dispatches he had sent to Tæheran, nor to suffer me to proceed to the capital, without the King's express order; and concluded by saying:—" we have ordered Mo- " hammed Nebee Khan, and all the Governors on " the coast, to prepare to resist an attack on " Carrack, by sending troops, provisions and stores " there. You made a great impression last night " on the Prince, but it is my head that will go,

" and not his, if he acts wrong." I said, " God " preserve *both your head and your body*, but " I must say I am sorry the Prince should put " himself to the trouble and expense of sending " troops and provisions to Carrack, which, take " my word for it, if they have not yet sailed, had " better be countermanded."—" What!" said he, " do you think we mean to give you the island, " or that we have not the courage to defend it, " and support our King's honor, as well as you " talk about supporting your's?"—" My dear Khan, " no one doubts your courage, nor how well, if " occasion required, every Persian will support " the honor of his king—you mistake my meaning " —which is, that in common prudence, in com- " mon policy, the English can have no wish for " the island of Carrack, and this comes with some " propriety from me, because, some years ago, " General Malcolm endeavoured to persuade the " Governor-General to *purchase* of the King of " Persia the island of Kishmé; my opinion was " then asked, publicly, by Malcolm,* on the sub- " ject, and I have some reason to imagine that " the opinion I then gave to the Governor-General,

* Sir John had a furious passion for the possession of an Island in the Gulf. On his return from his first Mission to Persia, he wanted Marquis Wellesley to purchase the island of Kishmé; on his second, he wanted to seize the island of Carrack by force; and whilst he was Governor of Bombay, he was anxious the East India Company should obtain possession of that island, and form a large establishment there; but the Court of Directors had sense enough to see this would have been a mighty expensive and foolish affair.

" against such purchase, was received with much " attention. The English *want your friendship:* " *they want your commerce; they want your* " *prosperity;* what in the name of God has the " possession of the island of Carrack to do with " all these? let us talk no more about this foolish " island, but examine how matters stand at pre- " sent, and what is best to be done.

" I differ from you entirely about my not pro- " ceeding to Tæheran. I consider it to be of the " utmost importance *to us all,* that I should get " there as soon as possible; and therefore I be- " seech you and the Prince, to give me every " assistance in your power, for that purpose. If " Malcolm arrives in a hostile manner, and com- " mences hostilities, what can it signify, whether " I am clapped in prison here, or at Tæheran? " But if we can any way manage, before all this " happens, that I am acknowledged, and admitted " by His Persian Majesty, as the accredited Mi- " nister to him of my King, my power in Persia, " from that instant, becomes superior to the Go- " vernor-General's; and I will undertake to keep " the peace between England and Persia; or if, " contrary to any engagement that I may make " with the King of Persia, Lord Minto, or Mal- " colm, should be rash enough to infringe it, they " will draw upon themselves a fearful responsibi- " lity indeed. Now, the first thing, therefore, to " be done, is, that the Prince should address a

" firman to General Malcolm, to be delivered to " him at the instant when intelligence shall be re- " ceived of his arrival in the Gulf, stating to him, " that '*the King's Ambassador* has proceeded to " Tæheran; *that he has given a bond, to be* " *answerable with his life and fortune,* that no " hostile measures shall be undertaken against " Persia, provided hostilities are not commenced " by the Persians; and then add, these we have not " only strictly forbidden, but we are willing to re- " ceive you as a friend; and, if you are accom- " panied by troops, they shall receive such re- " freshments and supplies as they stand in need " of, until something concerning their future " destination shall be settled between the King " and the British Ambassador, at Tæheran."

The old Minister seemed thunder-struck. The first words he uttered, were—" But will you give such a bond, that we may send it to the King?" —" Draw it up in your own terms; and, by G—d, I will instantly set my seal to it."—" Well," replied he, " I must leave you a few minutes, to consult the Prince, and my brother Ministers."— In about a quarter of an hour, the Minister returned, with a paper drawn up in strict terms, though conformably to what I had advised; to which I instantly set my seal, and gave it into his hands, to be made any use of he thought proper; and so ended, for the present, this very disagreeable affair.

I know that severe strictures were made on my proceedings with the Schyras Government, by some persons, and conveyed to others, with whom they did me an immense injury; and I trust, therefore, that I shall be pardoned, if I put forth the judgment made of them by those on the spot, and who were witnesses to, and acquainted with the difficulties I had to struggle against.

" Sir Harford, on his return from his conference " with the Minister, acquainted us, that he had, at " length, succeeded in prevailing on the Minister " to send down a firman to Malcolm, in case he " should come up the Gulf, inviting him up the " country, and assuring him of the most honorable " and friendly reception; but to effect this, Sir " Harford has given the Prince a bond, by which " he puts his life and fortune at his Royal High- " ness's disposal, if Malcolm, after the receipt of " the firman, commits any act of hostility against " Persia. Sir Harford rises superior to every " thing; and, what a man of less firmness than " himself would consider as a situation too re- " sponsible to continue in, he has had the address " and ability to turn to his advantage. Any other " man, either alarmed at the responsibility he has " taken on himself, or disgusted with the unjust " and ill treatment he has received, would imme- " diately yield to the Governor-General's desire, " throw the whole responsibility on him, return to " England, and leave his Lordship to get out of

" the mess, how he could. On the contrary, Sir " Harford, aware of the immense evil, which must " result to the Company, and his country, from a " war with Persia,—which, as things stand, must " be the case, if he were now to return,—takes " the whole on his shoulders, and smothers his " disgust. Surely, services like his, will be re- " warded at home. His high rank in the civil ser- " vice at Bombay, gives him a fair pretension to " succeed Mr. Duncan* in the chair of Bombay, " in which his firmness, integrity, intelligence, " and activity, would prove highly beneficial to " the settlement."

January the 9th.—My excellent friend, Hajee Eusoof, paid me a visit. He came, he said, to congratulate me on having surmounted all my difficulties; adding—" I see you are just the same " man, as when you were negociating with me " about His unfortunate Majesty Lutf Ally Khan's " jewels. No European that has ever been in " Persia, understands the Persians like yourself; " and Meerza Bozurg will be delighted to find all " this done without his assistance. The Prince " sent for me this morning, about some jewels he

* Mr. Duncan himself, in a private letter to me, stated this as a thing that would be very agreeable to him—since, from various long conversations which passed between us, during my residence at Bombay, he found my views of the position and affairs of that settlement, coincide exactly with his own.

" wanted to have reset; and I had a long " private audience of him. He said, 'You " knew this Ambassador in the black time of " the Zunds. He contrived, the other day, to " get a private conversation with me on horse- " back, for near an hour, and I thought he " talked more sensibly about our affairs with " England, than Nasr Oollah Khan; and this " the Khan now acknowledges. I will do all I " can, to speed his departure to the presence.'" —All this was extremely gratifying to me to hear; and it was circumstances like these, which enabled my mind to bear up against the constant and increasing load of anxiety which was pressing on it.

I considered this to be an excellent opportunity, to ascertain from so good a judge, at what price I might fairly, in the present to the King, rate the diamond I had brought with me from England. The instant I showed the stone to my old friend, " Oho!" cried he, " this " is an old acquaintance of mine; and one for " which I was often, during the reigns of Ally " Morad Khan, Jaafer Khan, and Lutf Ally " Khan, desired to look out. Kerim Khan wore " this stone as a ring; and that was the means " by which, through the hands of some of the " women, it was conveyed out of the palace, on " his death. The King has refused to purchase " stones of great magnitude. No one else in Per-

" sia would choose to buy this stone—first, be-
" cause, if the purchase were discovered, the King
" would claim the jewel, and seize it;—and, se-
" condly, because the purchase of such large dia-
" monds never can answer to individuals, unless
" immediately resold; for the interest of the
" money eats up all the profit. In the present
" you will have to make to the King, I think you
" may fairly rate it at 20,000 tomans;"* that is about £20,000 sterling.—I said, "My friend, I
" am satisfied; but I have a favor to ask of you,
" which is, never to mention that you have seen
" this stone, or that it belonged to Kerim Khan.
" Of this latter circumstance, they must be igno-
" rant at Tæheran; or, if there is any person that
" knows any thing about the matter, it must be
" Meerza Bozurg, and I can easily procure his
" silence."—The old jeweller voluntarily bound himself to this by an oath the most sacred amongst the Persians; and then said, "Well, I
" have now a favor to ask of you in return. It is
" probable I shall not see you again before your
" departure for Tæheran; therefore,"—taking a very fine emerald from his finger, and putting it on mine, he added,—" wear this for old Eusoof's

* Some credit, perhaps, is due to me, that no five per cent. was incurred by me on any part of the presents I made; nor did I employ a relation of mine to provide them. I so managed, that at the expense of ten thousand pounds to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty's Envoy.

" sake; and remember the little chamber, in which " we so often, and so happily, supped together."— I wished much to make the old man a present, in return; but he would not hear of it, saying, " I possess several notes in your own handwriting, " when you were, as I may say, a prisoner in Schy- " ras; and these are keepsakes enough for me. " *Khoda hafez;*" that is, " God remember you!"— Trust me, reader, I do often look at this jewel; for the old man's virtues were great, and his kindness to me, unbounded. I never saw him afterwards!

Per il suo contrario, I find, from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, that this day I paid a visit to two great Khajar noblemen, related to the King;— and that one of them wanted to force down my throat the present of a horse, for which he expected to receive five times the value; but I was obdurate."

On the 11th, a Mehmandar was appointed to attend me to Isfahaun; and I received a visit from him. On the 12th, I caused our tents to be pitched about a mile out of Schyras; and, accompanied by most of the gentlemen, I privately repaired to them, as we were to commence our journey next morning, in order that everything might be looked over, and, if any thing was found to be wanting, it might be provided.

I had scarcely reached the tents, when an agent from Mohammed Nebee Khan was introduced to

me; who brought letters from his employer, to say, that he had sent up to Schyras, under my name, and under the description of articles designéd for presents, India goods, to the value of about £14,000; which, the agent verbally informed me, that, at the different raiedaries (that is, toll-houses) on the road, he had passed free of toll; and that, in consequence of asserting them to be goods for presents, he had with difficulty prevented them from being carried into the custom-house at Schyras, and had brought them direct to my camp. I can safely say, that all that I had suffered in Schyras did not give me so much concern, as this most unwarrantable conduct of my old friend; especially as he had the impudence, in his letter, to state, that, in consequence of my present situation, I should find it necessary, perhaps, to increase my presents; and that I might depend on his services and influence with the Government in India.

I called the agent into the public tent, and said to him:—"Sir! your master has been guilty of a "most unwarrantable action,—he has made use "of my name in a manner completely disgraceful "to him. I am very, very sorry for him—for the "sake of long and old friendship. I will expose "him as little as possible, but it hurts me to find "that he knows me no better than to suppose, "that, because I am at present a little awkwardly "situated, I shall therefore increase the presents

" I had previously designed to make.* With such " an opinion of me, I must beg to declare, I will " not, I cannot, accept any service he could afford " me,—though I fancy it is beyond his power " either to injure or assist me. Your goods must " instantly be returned into the custom-house at " Schyras. The truth must be told; but, for " your master's sake, I will not tell the whole " truth. I shall write to Nasr Oollah Khan, that " the goods were sent up to me, to look at,—that " I have not thought it convenient to take any of " them,—and that therefore, if Mohammed Nebee " Khan wishes they should be returned to Bushire, " I trusted, (if it were possible) they might be " allowed to be returned, considering the motive " of his sending them, without payment of duties. " But that I must add, in justice to myself, that " they were sent without being ordered by me.— " If this, Sir," said I to the agent, " suits your " purpose, well. If not, I can do no more. I " move to-morrow."—The agent then begged of me, to let him move the bales off in the night, towards Bushire, and he could easily settle with the raiedaries, going down.—" What! use my " name again! I do not choose to trust my credit " and honor with the Persian Government, in " either your master's hands, or your own."—The goods were carried to the custom-house; but in

* Compare this with Lord Minto's accusation that it was by *corruption* that I found my way up to Tæheran.

what manner the business was afterwards arranged, I neither cared, nor wished to learn.

Mr. Sheridan states: "*January the* 13*th.*—Com-
" menced, at eleven, A. M. our journey to Isfahaun.
" All the principal persons of Schyras, previously
" to our moving, arrived in camp, and accompa-
" nied the Ambassador for some distance on the
" road." Although it scarcely comes within the scheme of what I propose to myself in this Memoir, yet it may amuse the reader to be told, that, about three miles on the road, we came to a place, where ice was collected for the summer supply of the city of Schyras. The apparatus for this purpose was a high wall, fronting north and south; on the north side of which, immediately at the foot of the wall, a very deep trench was dug; and not far from this, the little stream of Rokhnabad was diverted into various shallow trenches. The water thus admitted, was frozen over in the night; and in the morning, the ice, thus formed, was shovelled into the deep trench, which, when filled, was to be covered over, and secured from the action of the atmospheric air. Frozen snow, which is kept in caverns in the surrounding mountains, is the common medium by which fruits and liquids are cooled in the summer, at Schyras; and ice is only made use of by persons of superior rank, and more refined taste, and sells for nearly double the price of frozen snow.

The next day we encamped in the plain of

Merdasht, nearer to the ruins of Nakshee Rustam, than to those of Persepolis. Of these ruins so much has been said—the description of them has been so often repeated, by various persons—that I shall make only one remark; which is, that Sir James Sutherland, by my desire, attempted to enter, and did enter, the opening, which stands like a door-way, about two-thirds up the front of the superbly engraved mountain at Nackshee Rustam. To effect this, was a matter which required great personal strength and agility; nor could it be done without considerable risk. I had never heard or read of any one having examined this chamber (for so it proved to be); and, consequently, my expectations were greatly raised, that, on examination, something would be found, curious enough to reward the great pains, trouble, and risk, my friend so obligingly took. Sir James was drawn up by ropes, lowered from the top; and he reported, that he found a room excavated in the rock, twenty-nine feet long, by nine feet broad; and, at one extremity of it, three arches, in each of which was a tomb, partly covered with a stone, but neither of the tombs then contained anything within them. To such as are curious of information on the subject of ruins in Persia, I strongly recommend the perusal of Hoeck's *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*,—a work which has but lately come into my hands, though printed at Göttingen in 1818.

Both here and at Persepolis, I endeavoured to restrain, as much as I could, all spirit of defacing the ruins, for the sake of carrying away some bit of them, as a curiosity. The plain, broad line, on these occasions, has always appeared to me to be this:—whatever you find displaced, and on the ground, and can carry away, if you are permitted, you may fairly do so, and appropriate to yourself; but to wrest by force certain articles out of their places,—and thereby deface, and, as much as in you lies, destroy the noble remains of antiquity,—is a childish passion,—unjustifiable, and truly Gothic. I believe, however, that this was not the doctrine of the day, after I left Persia. Few, except artists, perhaps, more admire the spirit and beauty of the figures stolen—or taken, if you please—from the Parthenon, than I do; but with me, they lose all their interest, and a considerable portion of their beauty, where they now stand; and he must be desperately greedy of posthumous notice, who is willing to purchase it at the expense of being the person alluded to in the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th stanzas of the second canto of *Childe Harold*. It was neither by my wish, nor with my consent, that my humble name stands cut, and deeply cut, on the beautiful stones in the walls at Persepolis. It was, no doubt, designed as a compliment; but it was a compliment which only made my nothingness more conspicuous. I will close the subject, by using the

words of Lord Byron, in a note:—"I am not a "collector, nor an admirer of collections; conse- "quently, no rival; but I have some early pre- "possessions in favor of *Persia*, and I do not think "the honor of England advanced by plunder, "either of Persia or Attica."

January the 15th.—To-day I received a confirmation of the report, which had already reached us, of peace being concluded between England and Spain,—of a glorious victory obtained over the French in that country, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, —and of Mr. Adair's being still in the Dardanelles. This intelligence came to me by way of Bagdad, in various Gazettes and papers; all of which I set about translating, and dispatched to Tæheran. General Gardanne had set me an example for so doing, by the following bulletin, which my friend Meerza Bozurg had sent me from Tæheran:—

"BULLETIN.

"*Tauris, Avril*, 1809.

"Les armes de mon auguste maître ont obtenue "en Espagne les succès les plus éclatans. Le "grand Napoleon, le 4me Decembre, est entré vic- "torieux à Madrid, la capitale des Espagnes. "Toutes les armées, Espagnoles ou Portugaises, "ont été détruites ou dispersées.

"La Suède, abandonnée par les Anglais, vient "de déclarer contre eux.

"A l'ouverture du corps législatif, le 20me Oc-

" tobre, S. M. I. et Royale a dit, et l'Empereur " de Russie l'a répété à St. Petersburg—' Nous " nous sommes vus à Erfurt, notre première pen- " sée a été une pensée du paix; nous sommes d'ac- " cord, et invariablement unis pour la paix comme " pour la guerre.'

" Dans l'Inde, Scindea et Holkar se sont réunis " de nouveau contre les Anglais. Les Anglais " ont maltraité un Gouverneur du Deccan ; il s'est " retiré chez les Seiks, pour les engager à leur " déclarer la guerre. Six batimens viennent d'être " pris dans le Bengale, et conduits à l'Isle de " Maurice.

(Signé) GARDANNE.

On this text, my present dispatches formed, to the Ministers, a very pretty commentary.

On the 17th of January, I moved from the plain of Merdasht, and in a little time came on the ground where His unfortunate Majesty Lutf Ally Khan would have regained his throne, but for the treacherous suggestions of his Minister, Meerza Fath Ally, and prevented all the horrible calamities, which subsequently befel his family, and his former subjects at Schyras. To pass over this ground, without a thousand recollections forcing themselves on my mind, was impossible ; and if the greater part of these were melancholy, it was that sort of melancholy, which soothes, even when it pains, by showing us the instability and uncer-

tainty of human grandeur, and human actions, and affording a lesson, to those who will read it rightly, of the wisdom, good sense, and truth, contained in the advice which Robinson Crusoe received from his father :*—

" He bid me observe, I should always find that " the calamities of life were shared among the " upper and lower part of mankind; but that the " middle station had the fewer disasters, and were " not exposed to so many vicissitudes, as the " higher and lower; nay, that they were not sub- " jected to so many distempers and uneasinesses, " either of body or mind, as those were, who, by " vicious living, luxury, and extravagance, on the " one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessa- " ries, and mean or insufficient diet, on the other " hand, bring distempers upon themselves, by the " natural consequence of their way of living; that " the middle station of life was calculated for all " kinds of virtues, and all kinds of enjoyments; " that Peace and Plenty were the hand-maids of a " moderate fortune; that temperance, moderation, " quietness, health, society, all agreeable diver- " sions, all desirable pleasures, were the blessings " attending the middle station of life; that in this " way men went silently and smoothly through " the world, and comfortably out of it;—not em- " barrassed with the labours of the hands or head;

* Compare this with the 16th Ode, Lib. II. of Horace, Ad Grosphum.

" —not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread,
" nor harassed with perplexed circumstances,
" which rob the soul of peace, and the body of
" rest ;—not enraged with the passion of envy, or
" of secret burning lust of ambition of great
" things ;—but in easy circumstances, sliding
" gently through the world, and sensibly tasting
" the sweets of living, without the bitter ; feeling
" that they are happy, and learning by every day's
" experience, to know it more sensibly."

This quotation from De Foe has always been a great favorite with me ; and I hope, if it is not already, it will be so with my reader. There are parts of it, according to my judgment, so tenderly, so pathetically, so appropriately worded, that it would be difficult, perhaps, to find a passage in the English language, which surpasses it for elegant construction or for moral beauty.

I had protracted my stay in the plain of Merdasht, in order to give time to Mr. Bruce, who had been left at Schyras, to arrange several little unfinished matters, to join me at our encampment of this day, which was at Sywend. I received a letter from this gentleman, of which Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, makes mention as follows :—

" Sir Harford showed me Bruce's letter, which
" says that, notwithstanding Mohammed Nebee
" Khan, in the firman which Sir Harford had pro-
" cured at Schyras, had been ordered to receive
" General Malcolm in the most friendly manner,

" still, Mohammed Khan Khesthtee had been sent " down to Bushire, with orders, that the island " of Carrack should be put in the best state of " defence."

The next day we moved to Kummeen, from whence I addressed Meerza Sheffee, on the subject of Mr. Bruce's letter, mentioned above. In my letter, I find, I gave the Minister strong hints, rather indeed in the shape of complaint, how ill I considered the orders given to Mohammed Khan, to accord with the serious bond which I had given to the Prince at Schyras; and entreated him to send orders immediately to Bushire, and Carrack, which might, if General Malcolm did arrive with troops, prevent any thing unpleasant happening between our troops and the Persian garrisons.

On the 19th of January we encamped at Morghaub, and I find Mr. Sheridan in his Journal remarks:—" that at this time of year the snow at this " place is sometimes six feet deep on the ground, " and then the road becomes impassable, and " travellers are detained many days; we are lucky " in having fine weather; it has rained only once " since we left Bushire, and that was at Schyras."

The next day we reached Dybeed. This plain is said to be sometimes covered with snow to such a degree that travellers have been detained for a great length of time before they could proceed. We had a very fatiguing day's journey, and got no dinner till it was nearly time to go to bed. In

addition to this misery, the sky, as the evening closed, became very heavy and black; and put forth all the signs, which those who pretended to be weather-wise, assured us portended a deep fall of snow: signs which, however, gave great uneasiness to the Mehmandar, and very justly alarmed us all. The stock of provisions for ourselves and cattle was not more than enough for the day's consumption, and the Mehmandar said there were neither tents nor villages, from which we could procure a supply, nearer than twenty miles. And, therefore, if a quantity of snow had fallen in the night, the probability was, that if we ourselves contrived to escape, the baggage and the cattle would remain buried under the snow. A year or two ago, some merchants halted for the night at the caravanserai which stands in the plain; a fall of snow came on in the night; they could neither return nor proceed, and consequently lost their lives. Mr. Sheridan states that,—"Coindet, (my French head servant) "as usual, got desperately drunk, and made such "a noise that Sir Harford was obliged to go out "to quiet him."*

The night fortunately passed without any fall of snow, and on the 21st of January we reached Khoneh Kowra, where I received another letter from Mr. Bruce; and the intelligence that my excellent and much lamented friend, the late

* After my return home, I received a letter from a foolish lawyer, about this fellow.

Surgeon Campbell, had arrived at Cummeen, to join the Mission. I shall now relate, from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, a circumstance which may appear trivial, but I do it for the purpose of afterwards mentioning the foolhardiness of a man whom I had received from H. M. ship Sapphire, to act as tailor to the Mission. "In the very narrow passes "between the mountains, through which our road "lay to day, Sir Harford's dog, Ranger, allured "by the scent of some game, jumped out of the "pannier in which he was carried, and ran off "pursuing it. We stopped near an hour in the "hope that the dog might return, but finding he "did not, Sir Harford's head-groom, with whom "the dog was a great favorite, accompanied by "several Persian horsemen, set out in quest of "him. It seems to me scarcely possible, as the "dog must have wandered very far in the pursuit "of the game, that he should either regain our "track, or that the horsemen should find him; and "the chance therefore is either that he will be "devoured in the night by wolves, or die with "hunger and cold in the mountains. Some time "after we came to our ground, the groom and his "party returned, without having seen Ranger.

"January the 22nd. This morning, Chambers, "the tailor whom Sir Harford had from Captain "Davies, inconsolable for the loss of Ranger, who, "as he said, had been his old shipmate and play-"fellow on board the Sapphire, set off at eight this

" morning, unknown to Sir Harford, in quest " of his favorite, taking along with him another " dog, belonging to the Ambassador, called Care- " less. But there were, when we went to bed, no " tidings of either dog or man; the chance then " is, that Chambers has lost his way, and if his " horse fail, or snow fall, he will lose his life." Indeed, my alarm for the probable fate of the poor man, who, had I been acquainted with his intentions, should never have been permitted to have undertaken such a wild-goose chase, became very serious indeed, and I expressed myself, to the head groom, as being exceedingly displeased that he should, without my knowledge, have allowed the tailor to take a horse from his picket.

January the 23rd. To my great joy, when my servant came into my tent this morning, he told me that Chambers and the two dogs had come into the camp a little before the break of day, and the account Mr. Sheridan gives of the tailor's proceedings is as follows:—" On going out of my " tent this morning, the first thing I saw was " Ranger, eating some bread, with which the in- " defatigable tailor was feeding him, and *several* " *Persians standing round,* and greeting Ranger " with expressions of joy and kindness. The tailor " says that he got sight of the dog running over a " mountain, near Dybeed, that he followed him " for near two hours before he could come up " with him; that the dog seemed not to hear

" when he called to him, nor to regard him in any " manner, but kept moving on. He then thought " of putting down Careless, and Ranger happening " to perceive her, stopped, and at last came up to " her; and then he returned with both. Now the " tailor could not have ridden less than forty miles; " and how he found his way back to our camp, he " can neither tell, nor any one imagine." The reader will please to recollect the alarm, in respect to snow, which the Mehmandar expressed at Dybeed, and that he there informed us that there were neither tents nor villages within twenty miles of the place; and then he may form some idea of the peril and risk to which Chambers exposed himself, for the love of his old shipmate; but this man was a *sailor* as well as a *tailor*.

I omitted to mention, that at Khonah Kowra I received a letter from Mr. Bruce, at Schyras, acquainting me that it was currently reported, and believed there, that I should be detained a month at Isfahaun. Two circumstances of much interest at the time took place to day; the first was, that the Mission made a great acquisition in Surgeon Campbell, who joined us this day; and next, that very shortly after the tents were pitched, Meerza Abdull Hassan, who afterwards figured away in England, as Persian Ambassador, arrived in charge of a firman, addressed to me, from the King, and with dispatches to me from Meerza Sheffee. Mr. Sheridan speaks of these as follows:—

" A firman arrived from the King to Sir Har-
" ford, acquainting him with the farther particulars
" of the late battle between the Persians and the
" Russians, and also letters to him from Meerza
" Sheffee, in which the Meerza tells Sir Harford,
" that in approaching the capital, he will have the
" satisfaction to find that the French Ambassador
" will not be there, as General Gardanne is on the
" point of leaving Tæheran."

The 24th found the Mission at Abudah, the sky still continuing to threaten snow. The 25th, we reached Shoonastron, having stopped on the way to enable Sir James Sutherland, and Mr. Morier, to take an observation of the sun's altitude. The 26th the Mission rested at Yezdekast, famous for being the place where the inhuman Ziky Khan Zund met with his death. We travelled this day, near the whole of the march, through heavy rain, which cleared up about eight P. M., and the night then set in with severe frost.

On the 27th we broke ground at a quarter after ten, but were not able to strike the tents, in consequence of their having been saturated with rain water, on which came the frost, and rendered them as stiff as boards. The Mehmandar, therefore, lodged us in a small house in the little town of Mucksood-e-Beggee. The 28th, we moved to Koomeeshah, and on the way thither, a circumstance happened of which I was obliged to take a very painful notice. One of my Persian *jelowdars*

(*i. e.* grooms) took it into his head grossly to abuse one of the Indian officers of the troop. Of this I made a strong and formal complaint to the Mehmandar, desiring also that the man should receive, in my presence, (which he did) a severe punishment. Besides, I took this opportunity distinctly to state to the Mehmandar, that though the man was my servant, he was a Persian, and one of the Shah's subjects, whom, in Persia, I would not presume to punish, but, when it was necessary, deliver over to the proper authorities, that they might inflict it. I stated also that if any of my own people misbehaved, I would, on no occasion, allow them to be punished by any other person than myself. It never afterwards occurred, but once, that I infringed this rule, and the case put me so much off my guard, that I broke a strong and most severe jockey whip about the back of one of my own Persian jelowdars; and my passion was certainly aggravated by the fellow's attempting to draw his sword; perceiving which, I gave him a cut of the whip over his hand, which deprived him of the use of it for near a month, and was so very severe, that I was at one time afraid it might deprive him of the use of it for ever; for, in the lash of the whip was inserted brass wire, and the wound festered, I presume, from that cause. The case was this; about the month of September, in the following year, I was proceeding to the Prince Royal's camp, and the day was dreadfully hot.

We passed through several plantations of melons and water melons, which, no doubt, were extremely tempting, but as the owners of them were not present, I gave strict orders that none of the people with me should touch them. An officer of Government, however, who was with me, was not so scrupulous,—made pretty free use of the fruit,—and brought several of them to me; but though I was thirsting to taste them, I refused to do so; and what is very comical, the officer, seeing this, from shame, I believe, threw down, himself, and made his servants throw down, the melons they were eating. I now thought the matter was settled, but on looking back, I perceived one of the jelowdars had rode his horse into the very middle of a beautiful water-melon field, and was as fast as possible loading himself with the fruit. I gallopped back, and punished him as has been mentioned; and shortly after had the pleasure to see the owners of the plantations, driving before them a little troop of donkeys, heavily laden with the produce of their fields, and designed as a present to me. We all dismounted to enjoy the banquet, which I prefaced by calling aloud: "Eat "away, my boys, they are now *hellaul*." (*i.e.* lawful) This little affair made more noise to my advantage amongst the Persians, than the thing deserved, and I had the satisfaction to be told that the King, on hearing of it, said: "If the Ambassador had "used his sword instead of his whip, he would "have done right."

The town of Komeshah, and its district, is at present given up to the Prince's mother, who resides with him at Schyras, and most of my readers, no doubt, know that this sort of tenure, by the wives of the king, is of very ancient date in Persia, from whence, perhaps, the modern Turks adopted the same custom. This last day's journey was exceedingly troublesome, owing to a very hard frost having succeeded the rain.

The 28th, after prayers, we continued our march, and on the 30th of January arrived at Malijar. Here, in addition to many other vexations, I found reason to suspect the propriety of Mr. B's. conduct. Mr. Sheridan thus mentions the circumstance:—"Jaafer Ally Khan told me he had received a letter from his brother, with whom B. is living at Schyras, in which he says, B. told him that he had no intention of following Sir Harford, nor can he think of giving up General Malcolm for him. If so, B. has behaved to Sir Harford with as much duplicity as ingratitude, especially after the letter received from him last night, in which he says he never can forget the kindness he has received from the Ambassador. If, therefore, Jaafer's information be correct, surely he acts as contemptibly as short-sightedly. Jaafer also told me many other things which took place at Schyras; particularly of the gentleman who returned from thence by Sir Harford's desire, having endeavoured to dissuade him,

" Jaafer, from accompanying Sir Harford any
" farther. I told Jaafer by all means to make
" these things known to Sir Harford."

I mention these circumstances to shew the reader the constant state of doubt and anxiety in which I was placed, not so much from the proceedings of the Persians, as from those of my own countrymen, many of whom seemed to forget that it was their first duty, as Englishmen, to support the honor and character vested in me, (no doubt unworthily) of our common sovereign; and how very ready, on all occasions, those persons were, to embarrass rather than assist me. I had one comfort, however, that come what would, I was pretty certain that the Persian Court would receive and acknowledge me as the King's Minister in Persia. Hajee Eusoof's messenger, to Meerza Bozurg, dispatched from Schyras, came to me to day, on his way to Schyras, and both by a short letter, and a verbal message, brought me the most important and flattering intelligence of the reception I was to obtain on arriving at Tæheran, though it gave me reason to expect some difficulties and delays at Isfahaun.

But here, fatigue of body and mind had their effect, and I became exceedingly unwell; so much so, that very much against my will, I was obliged, next day, the 31st of January, to travel to Isfaunck, in the *tacterevan* or litter, with His Majesty's letter, and to take another road from that which

the bulk of the Mission pursued. I therefore directed Mr. Morier to meet the Istakbaul, and to explain to the chief man of it, through Jaafer Ally Khan, the cause of my absence.

On the 1st of February we were to enter Isfahaun. I still continued extremely unwell, but Isfahaun being a place of such consequence, I must either halt, (which I determined not to do as long as I had strength left) or meet the procession from the city, to compliment me on my arrival in person. I mounted my horse, therefore, this morning, with every prospect, if able to hold out the ceremony of the day, of being obliged to take to my bed us soon as it was over. In addition to this, I found the Governor of Isfahaun declined to come to meet me. Considering this, as matters stood, to be of some consequence, I halted, and dispatched a letter to him, in which (from Mr. Sheridan's journal) I find "I told him he might do as he pleased, but "if he did not come out to meet me, I should "take no notice of him." I then moved on, continuing extremely weak and languid, and as we approached the city the crowd increased, and became immense, which incommoded me exceedingly. Mr. Sheridan observes that he computed that there were not less than 50,000 persons assembled; and as we approached the suburbs, the tops of the houses and walls were filled with spectators. I now return to the Journal:—"Ab-"dullah Khan had not yet made his appearance,

" though we were now within a mile of the garden " in which our tents had been directed to be " pitched. The Khan however met us at last, " about an hundred yards from a tent he had pur- " posely pitched in the way by which the Mission " was to pass; and this, I am confident, he would " not have done, had not Sir Harford halted, and " given aloud a public order—' March on, enter " the city, and stop at the best caravanserai you " can find.' The Khan, or Beglerbeg, as he is " called, led us to the tent, which we found fur- " nished with chairs, which seemed to afford great " relief to the Ambassador, who was so weak as " to be obliged to receive assistance to dismount " from his horse. A splendid collation was laid " out, and every thing was as comfortable as " possible, except that Abdullah Khan gave him- " self many ridiculous airs. After the ceremony " of reception was finished, and we had rested " some time, we recommenced our march, and " proceeded to the Chehar Baug, in which our " tents had been pitched." In the midst of this garden stood a large building, which was given up for the use of the Mission. It had been an edifice of considerable beauty and magnificence, and there were still, in many parts, remains of both; but as the snow was on the ground, and the cold intense, I should have preferred to occupy apartments more suitable to the state of the weather, and of the season. The room in which,

immediately after our arrival, we received a superb collation of sweetmeats, &c. and afterwards a very ample and delicate dinner, was lined or wainscoated with the purest white marble, on which various flowers were raised in exquisite relievo; and what the Persians beheld with much delight, but what I, in my present situation, beheld with as great horror, was that on one side of the room, where the cornice joined the ceiling, water was contrived to be let in so as to make a continual trickling, accompanied by a low murmuring, as it passed over the unequal surface of the flowers cut on the marble. There appeared, however, to my great satisfaction, a spacious fire-place, in which a miserable fire was burning, which I soon increased to one that might roast a sheep; and prevailed on my Mehmandar to order the water-works to be stopped, and the room soon became tolerably comfortable.

Notwithstanding the information Mr. Sheridan received from Jaafer Ally Khan, respecting Mr. B., he joined us to day. His excuse for so long remaining behind, was not such as would bear strict scrutiny; but considering the need I had of him in the commissariat department, (if I may be allowed the expression) I considered it wiser to receive it, than to sift the matter more minutely. But I see Mr. Sheridan seems aware of this, for in his Journal he remarks,—"but this will not end "here." This day, the 2nd of February, the Governor of Isfahaun paid me a visit, at which

Mr. Sheridan says; "he behaved better than he "did yesterday." A circumstance now came to my knowledge which was not much adapted to promote my convalescence, I give it in the words of my lamented friend. "In consequence of the "report of General Malcolm's coming up the gulf "in a hostile manner, all the *lacks*, relations of "the Zunds, have been turned out of Schyras. "As many of Sir Harford's servants, in various "departments, among others, Peer Mohammed "Beg,* are Lacks, Sir Harford directed an express "to be dispatched, early this morning, with a letter "to Nasr Oollah Khan, the Minister at Schyras, "to request that the wives and children of the "persons in his service, should not be turned "adrift; stating also that the men being with him, "he should consider any severity exercised to- "wards the families of these persons, as pointed "against himself, esteeming it his duty, as long "as they acted loyally, to take every means in his "power to protect them in comfort and tranquillity."

On the 3rd of February I returned the Beglerbeg's visit, at which as I was anxious to obey Meerza Bozurg's advice "to push on," I arranged that Messrs. Sutherland and Morier should remain a few days behind for purposes connected with the public duties of the first, and private pursuits of the latter.

Nothing material passed on the 4th, and on the 5th of February: the Beglerbeg gave the Mission a

* One of the Persian secretaries.

grand dinner, at which Mr. Sheridan says, "we "were agreeably surprised to find tables, chairs, "and other articles of European accommodation.

On the 6th, in prosecution of my determination to lose no time in reaching the capital, we removed to our tents, which I had ordered to be pitched in a garden a short distance from the city. This was a memorable day indeed! and I prefer to relate, in Mr. Sheridan's words rather than my own, a part of what took place:—"A dispatch arrived "from Mr. Duncan, (the Governor of Bombay) "and from General Malcolm, in which the latter "writes Sir Harford word that he will leave "Bombay in twenty days, his letter being dated "the 29th of December, for the Persian Gulf, with "2000 men under his command, to take possession "of the island of Carrack. Sir Harford, with his "usual candour, immediately informed the Gover-"nor of this, and they are now in conference "together." Before I relate the substance of this conference, I cannot think that I betray private confidence, (especially as my Mission from the lapse of time, has become matter of history) when I tell the reader what was the nature of Mr. Duncan's private letters to me;—they expressed regret and astonishment at the measures which the Governor-General was adopting; reprehension, in the most unmeasured terms, of the manner in which I was treated, and compliments the most flattering as to the manner in which I had acted throughout; ending with these words, which I

consider myself at liberty to quote:—"My de-
"pendence for putting all this to rights, is on you;
"because I conceive, from your firmness, resource,
"and activity, you will be with the King, and
"we shall hear that you are there before this
"ill-judged, unjustifiable, rash expedition, can
"sail, which, if it once starts for the gulf, will cost
"*the Company crores and crores of rupees, and*
"*produce results I tremble to think of.*"*

Now for the conference.—I opened it by saying, I had done in this instance, as I had uniformly since my arrival in Persia endeavoured to do, that is to act with candour and openness, and that therefore as soon as it could be made, I had sent him a translation word for word of every thing in the dispatches I had just received, which related to the designs and intentions of the Indian Government towards Persia; that I regretted exceedingly that they were so little agreeable, and so very unlike what I expected,—indeed, they were so extraordinary, that I could scarcely bring myself to believe they were seriously entertained. I then begged of him to put me in a condition to move forward the next morning. This he immediately declared it was completely out of his power to do, as I should require at least five hundred mules or other beasts for that purpose, and that

* The same thing was afterwards repeated to me, but in stronger terms, in a Letter from England, from a most dear, most lamented, and most honored friend, who, when I came home, held the highest situation at the India House.

this number could not be collected in less than a fortnight. "Come, come," said I, "let us have "no nonsense about the mules; tell the truth, "the news I sent you to-day, makes you unwil- "ling to permit me to move until you have dis- "patched an account of it to the King, and received "from his Majesty's Minister an answer to your "dispatches, but this, let me tell you, appears to me "a mighty foolish resolution; first, because you "will be just as sure of me at Tæheran, as you are "here; secondly, because when I get to Tæheran, "I can be useful in preventing many evil conse- "quences of this sad and rash expedition. And "thirdly, because if you stop me here, you will "prevent my delivering to the King of Persia the "magnificent diamond with which I am charged "from my sovereign. Now Abdullah Khan, do "you choose to take so weighty a responsibility "on yourself,—for I do assure you, the first affront "I receive,—and I shall construe my detention "here as a very serious one,—I will lay down my "public character, and neither prayers nor en- "treaties shall prevail on me to resume it, and "then you and the Governor-General may fight "it out how you please. My head may go in this "business, but depend on it, yours will not remain "long on your shoulders afterwards." These ex- pressions, I perceived, made considerable effect on the Khan. At this period of the conference, I produced the Hornby diamond, at the sight of which Abdullah Khan, as the French say, *faisait*

les grands yeux. Well did I know this exposure would be immediately reported at Tæheran, but to my great delight, the Khan asked me, if I would permit him, as a private memorandum for himself, to take the size of the stone on paper? By all means, I said; so out he takes from his inkstand a clumsy pair of scissors, lays the diamond on paper, and begins cutting round it. Now any one accustomed to jewels knows, that even the most expert person, must, in this manner, give a superficies very much larger than that of the gem itself, and God knows, my friend Abdullah Khan, by the clumsiness of his tool, and want of skill in the work he was about, did produce a magnificently sized *sketch* of the diamond. However, this was no concern of mine; I knew, indeed, that immediately after he left me, it would be sent off to Tæheran, but it was his representation, not mine; so that had he made it as large as the largest of the jewels which the Genius of the lamp presented Aladeen, he alone was answerable for the mistake. Although rather out of its place, I will just say, that after the diamond had been presented to the King, Meerza Sheffee shewed me this individual piece of paper, and said: "though your present "has not disappointed the King, yet when we "came to lay the stone upon the paper, the King "said: 'Abdullah Khan is almost as great a fool "as his father.*'" After this, the object of the conference was resumed, and I said, if there be

* The famous Ameen-ed-dowlah.

really any difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of mules or other beasts to move us and all the baggage, I shall be glad to set off for Tæheran express; the occasion is pressing, and every moment of delay dangerous. After some hesitation, Abdullah Khan said, if you will give me the price I require, I will make up from my own mules any deficiency in the number the muleteers may not be able to furnish, and they shall be all ready to-morrow at one o'clock.

I see from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, that very shortly after the Khan left me, an express arrived from the King, bringing me a firman, in which his Majesty assures me, orders have issued to afford me every means of reaching the capital as early as possible; and Meerza Sheffee, in a private letter, gives me to understand, that my assistance in the way of advice is wanting in their present transactions with the Russians. The Journal then goes on to state :—"The conference between Sir Har-"ford and Abdullah Khan lasted several hours; "the result is that we are to move to-morrow at "twelve o'clock, and to travel with such speed, as "to arrive the seventh day at Tæheran. Sir "Harford's object appears to me, to be, to con-"clude as soon as possible some treaty, by which "the mischief which is threatened from India, may "be prevented. Orders have been sent into the "city for Sutherland to join to-night, and Morier's "plan of staying behind is knocked on the head."

I soon found the communication to Abdullah Khan of the contents of the King's firman, wonderfully strengthened his good intentions towards the Mission, and very much quickened his readiness to take measures for its departure for the capital.

Now, I cannot leave Isfahaun and its neighbourhood, without mentioning the confirmation which an idea I had long entertained received during my stay here. The idea is, that the author of many of the tales in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments,* was either a Persian, or an Arab, who had not merely travelled in Persia, but made a long residence in it. The localities described in many of these are Persian localities only,—the manners described in them are Persian manners; and on approaching Isfahaun from Schyras, it is impossible not to be forcibly struck with the face of the country, as so exactly answering to that described as surrounding the city in which Aladeen's father lived, and in which the treacherous African magician, who pretended to be his uncle, found him. Besides, during my long residence at Bagdad, I had innumerable opportunities of observing how immediately the real Arab was fascinated with those tales in which Haroun al Raschid, and his renowned Grand Vizier, Jaafer (Giafer), and the country about Bagdad, were introduced; and how little, in comparison, they were interested in the Persian scenery, of which it seemed difficult for them to form a correct idea.

The proceedings of the 7th shall be copied entirely from the Journal:—

"This morning Sir Harford invited Morier and "myself to breakfast with him in his private tent; "after which, the dispatches prepared yesterday "having been read, were closed, and delivered to "the messenger appointed to take charge of them. "Sir Harford, in answer to Malcolm, told him, "that he should have supposed his dispatches "of the 22nd November would have induced him "to suspend all farther operations until the con- "tents of them had become known to the Gover- "nor-General, and he had received farther orders "from his Excellency; but, as this was not the "case, and it now seemed probable that even Sir "Harford's subsequent dispatches would make no "alteration in his (Malcolm's) proceedings and "plans, it became his (Sir Harford's) indispensable "duty, to inform him, that the Ministers at Tæ- "heran, and himself, were now on such a footing, "that all obstacles to the reception of His Ma- "jesty's Mission were completely at an end;— "that, therefore, by the authority vested in him "(Sir Harford) from the crown,—an authority, "which no inferior authority could *annul*,—he de- "sired him (General Malcolm,) on no account "whatever, either to commit an act of hostility "against the Persian Government, or to hold any "communications with the different Shaiks of the "Dushtistan, by which its jealousy might be ex-

" cited, or reasonable alarm created as to the " nature of our future proceedings,—inasmuch " as it was now most evident such steps would be " highly iujurious to the best interests of His " Majesty's Government, and of the India Company, " at the Court of Tæheran,—that repeated orders " had been issued, if he arrived with troops, to " allow those troops to land in a friendly manner " at Carrack, and for their being treated in the " handsomest manner as friends; that Sir Harford " expected to arrive in seven days more at Tæ- " heran, and Meerza Sheffee had officially ac- " quainted him, that he should the next day, if he " desired it, have an audience of the King,—that " General Gardanne was still at the capital; which " however it was probable he would leave before " Sir Harford entered it, and that the success " which had hitherto attended Sir Harford's " Mission, was not only satisfactory on its own " account, but might eventually be useful to Mr. " Adair, who at that moment was probably pre- " paring to reside in the British palace at Pera.

" His letter to Lord Minto was short, and " chiefly consisted of an extract of a private letter " which Sir Harford had received from Schyras; " stating the circumstance of all the Lacks* con- " nected with the Zunds, being turned out of the " city, and describing the misery and distress this " had occasioned to many innocent families. He

* One of the *Eels* or tribes.

" likewise informed his Excellency that he had " requested General Malcolm to forward to him " copies of the dispatches which Sir Harford now " addressed to the General. At one P. M. the " bugle sounded, and the Mission was put in " motion. Sir Harford appears extremely weak " and unwell, and he went to bed as soon as we " came to our ground; from which, however, he " dictated dispatches to the Ministers at Tæheran. " I begin to fear, that unless he is soon permitted " to enjoy some rest of body and mind, his health " will be materially injured."

On February the 8th the Mission halted at Moorchakoor, a place rendered remarkable in Persia, by the great and decisive victory which was here obtained by Nadir Shah, then Thamas Kouli Khan, over the Afghans, and which in the end led to their complete expulsion from Persia. The remarks of this day, worth noting from the Journal, are;—" We have now with us 300 spare " mules, in case any of those which carry the " baggage should fail on the road, as we are to " make very long stages, and, in fact, perform " more in one day, than ever yet has been per- " formed by so great a number of people moving " together, and with such a quantity of baggage. " Sir Harford is unable to appear at dinner."

On the 9th, at daylight, we commenced our march to Khorood. Our lodgings here were wretched, and on our arrival I found my indispo-

sition seriously increased; indeed, all the day, I had the greatest difficulty to keep on horseback. Our march was long and difficult, and Mr. Sheridan computes it to have been thirty-eight miles.

On the 10th I rose with a very sharp attack of dysentery, accompanied by a considerable degree of fever, and severe pains in all my bones; and my worthy and skilful friend, Surgeon Campbell, expressed uneasiness as the present state of my health. I was again reduced, though very reluctantly, to have recourse to the tackterevan. In the course of this day's march, we were to pass close to the city of Kashan, from which an *istakbaul*, or procession, was to meet the Mission on its approach. It was impossible, however, for me to mount my horse, and therefore, as before, I deputed Mr. Morier and Jaafer Ally Khan to apologize for my absence. Between Khorood and the plain of Kashan, there is a very long and a very narrow pass, or gorge, in the mountains, through which the road leads in a tolerably straight line, and at some distance, before the gorge opens into the plain, there is a *bund* or dam, which impounds a stream of water to a prodigious depth, and considerable extent. Now if an army from the northward was on its march through this gorge, to invade Isfahaun, or the southern provinces of Persia, and had, from the plain of Kashan, fairly entered it, the bund might be broken, and men, artillery, baggage, &c., in consequence of the great

inclination of the ground, must be carried away, and hurried along, like chips or leaves, through a flood-gate, when it is drawn up. Our halting place is called Nasr-abeed; the march is computed to be thirty miles, and I was now so very weak, languid, and ill, that Surgeon Campbell strongly remonstrated against my proceeding next day, even in the litter. I omitted to mention that there is much reason to believe it was in this very pass that Bessus put an end to the sufferings of Darius, and that Alexander overtook him just as he was expiring.

February 11th. We moved an hour before daylight, myself obliged to continue travelling in the litter. Our halting place for the night was at Kom, which every one knows is a place esteemed by the Persians as particularly sacred, in as much as Fatima,* the daughter of Mousa Kazem, the seventh Imaum, is buried there. The town, therefore, is full of mollahs, pilgrims, and fanatics; and the consequence was, that several gentlemen of the Mission, on approaching it, had cause to complain of having been pelted and otherwise insulted. For myself, I confidently expected that the fatigue and wetting I suffered in this day's journey, would have rendered me quite helpless.

As you approach Kom from Kashan, irigation of the land, which seems fat and excellent, is carried on to a considerable distance from the

* See Note, Page 70, of the Dynasty of the Khajars.

town, the canals for this purpose, are, many of them, broad and deep, and the roads or causeways between them in some parts very narrow, and not being pitched or stoned, rain renders them deep and slippery. When the litter arrived at the beginning of these canals, it was pitch dark, rained as hard as it well could, and the wind blew so strong, that it was with difficulty the mules could prevent the litter from being blown over. We were now distant about two miles from Kom, and the hinder mule slipped off the causeway, and drew the litter and front mule after her into the canal. The litter instantly filled with water, and I had the greatest difficulty, not only to prevent His Majesty's letter in the box from being damaged, but from being floated out at the door of the litter, in which case, it was highly probable, dark as it was, that it might either have been lost, or if recovered, recovered in such a state, as to render it illegible, and consequently unpresentable to the King of Persia. Such indeed was my situation inside the litter, that nothing but the attachment to me of the muleteers attendant on the litter, preserved me from either being drowned or suffocated in the mud. I have said before it was quite dark, therefore none could see or know whither the next plunge of the mules might carry us; but the whole thoughts and efforts of these faithful servants, seemed to be bestowed on me. The mule, poor beast, which had slipped, was so

nearly dead, that when we got her out, and the takterevan on the causeway, it was impossible she could be harnessed again; and wet and half dead as I was myself, I was obliged to perform the remainder of the way to Kom on the back of a riding mule belonging to Jaafer Ally Khan, which happened to be with us. From Mr. Sheridan's Journal I see that I reached the tents which were pitched a little distance from the city, a full hour after every one else. The baggage it seems had been strangely dispersed, and much of it had not yet arrived, though it was near ten P. M. I found only one tent pitched for all of us, and another small one, which had fallen into some of the canals on the road, and was quite wet through, and therefore unuseable, for myself. The troop, sepoys, and servants, were to the full as ill-accommodated as ourselves, yet the only complaint I heard, and that was quite reasonable and proper, was from the gentlemen, of the insults which they had received on approaching the city. Notwithstanding it was so late, I lost no time in sending to the proper authorities in the city, a message on this subject, assuring them, that the next morning at daylight, I would dispatch a messenger to Tæheran, with an account of the indignities with which the Mission had suffered, and require a striking satisfaction for them. This, I see, from my friend's Journal, brought the wildest of the offenders to their senses; and after some blustering on my part, on the

intercession of several mollahs of distinction, I promised to overlook what had happened. All this kept me up very late, and I became so ill, that I had not the smallest hope of being able to move the next day. However, Mr. Sheridan, or some of the other gentlemen, (I cannot now recollect with certainty which) happened to have some rum shrub, and I kept drinking this, mixed with water, as hot as I could swallow it, contrary to the advice of my friend Campbell, till (I must tell the truth) I was drunk. I then got all the bed clothes, fur cloaks, carpets, and every thing else that was dry, placed over me, and told one of the servants *to pound* rather than champoo me. Lying down thus clothed, all I remember was, that the fever ran very high, and that for a minute or two I was much inclined to talk, but I must have soon fallen asleep, and so soundly, that the sun had risen sometime, when I awoke, greatly refreshed, but weak,—and every thing, over and under me, wet, from the profuse perspiration I had suffered in the night,—but well inclined and able to pursue the journey. My personal Persian servant, when he came to me in the morning, saw such an alteration in my appearance, that he said, "Sir, you must be a good man, for nothing but "the blessed angels which constantly inhabit the "sacred dome, which covers the blessed Fatima, "could have done this for you."—Whilst I, infidel as I was, attributed the change to the very

copious doses of hot water and shrub which I had taken.

From the state every thing was in last night, it was impossible to move from our ground before midday; and then, as my entry into Tæheran, and General Gardanne's departure from it, had been fixed for the 13th, arrangements were made to enable the Mission to perform the remaining part of the journey in two days. Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, says: "Moved at twelve o'clock, leaving " all our baggage on the ground, and carrying with " us only our beds. After getting something to " eat at the caravanserai of Pool-e-dolauk, which " is about fourteen miles from Kom, we set out " again at ten P. M. intending to travel all night, " and hoping to arrive at Keenaragord early " enough to be able to set out from thence, so " as to meet the Istakbaul, and enter Tæheran " about twelve the next day: agreeable to an " arrangement Sir Harford had made with Meerza " Sheffee, Lieutenant Willock and the troop moved " about half an hour before ourselves; and in about " half an hour after, when we moved, it was found " that the guide had lost his road, and we continued " wandering about an apparently unbounded plain " for four hours, neither able to find the road " leading to Tæheran, nor to retrace our way to " the caravanserai at Pool-e-dolauk. At length, " however, Sir Harford's head shotter, or estafette, " contrived, by means of a lantern, to find our

" road; but it being still dark, it was thought wise " to lie down on the ground where we were, and " sleep till the morning broke." Thank God, I had no return of fever.

When the sun rose we recommenced our march, and I borrowed Jaafer Ally Khan's mule, as her paces were easier than those of a horse. Mr. Sheridan observes, " that this animal on the walk " kept all the horses at a brisk trot." The Meerzas, and men of the law, throughout Persia, when they travel, generally ride mules, but it is considered a mark of effeminacy for the Khans, or men of the sword, to make use of them for such purposes. Fine mules, well broken in, sell therefore for very great prices in Persia; and I remember Meerza Hossein, Meerza Bozurg's uncle, purchasing one at Schyras for £150. Those who have not experienced it, can scarcely form an idea of the ease and speed of their paces, which are always accompanied by, what I believe is common to all mules, great safety of foot. Night had been sometime set in before we reached Kunaragord, and here we found Sir James Sutherland and Willock, who had arrived about two in the evening. During the march, a messenger arrived, who acquainted me, that General Gardanne had left Tæheran yesterday, agreeably to the arrangement with Meerza Sheffee, and that the istakbaul or procession sent to meet the Mission, after awaiting its approach till evening, had returned to the city.

14th February, moved towards Tæheran, and met a very numerous istakbaul, sent to compliment me, entered the city, and repaired to a large house, some parts of which were ruinous, but on the whole accommodated the Mission with a very tolerable degree of comfort. After the compliments, messages, and other ceremonies, necessary on the arrival of the Mission, had been gone through, we were all of us glad to sit down to an ample and good dinner, sent us by the second minister, whose title is Ameen-ed-Dowlah, or the Trust of the State.

15th. Mr. Sheridan observes, "Sir Harford "passed nearly the whole of this night in con- "ference with Meerza Sheffee."

16th. The Journal states: "Sir Harford gave me "to copy his project of a preliminary treaty, and "told me, that our audience of ceremony of the "King would take place to morrow."

On the 17th, the audience of the King accordingly took place; and for the amusement of the reader, and to relieve the dull detail which has latterly been offered to him, I will copy from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, an account of this audience, as he has noted it down:—"The officers appointed to "attend and conduct us to the audience of the "King, having arrived at our lodgings, a very "numerous procession to the palace was formed; "and on our arrival there we were shewn into a "room where we waited some time, till an officer

" of the household came to inform us the King of
" Persia was ready to receive us. Sir Harford then
" took the King's letter to the King of Persia in
" his hands, and holding it above his breast, he
" directed Morier to precede him with the pre-
" sents, which consisted of a very large diamond,
" which Sir Harford valued to the Persians at
" £25,000; a gold-enamelled snuff-box, on the lid
" of which was the king's picture set round with
" large brilliants; and a small ebony box, on the
" lid of which a representation of the Battle of
" Trafalgar was beautifully cut in ivory; and some
" other smaller things which I forget. On entering
" the audience chamber, the way to which was
" through winding, narrow, and dark passages,
" we beheld the King of Persia seated on his
" throne. He was reclining or rather leaning
" against a red cushion richly studded with pearls;
" but the room was so much purposely darkened,
" and his dress so nearly black, that I could not
" distinctly examine either the one or the other.
" He had a crown on his head, and his beard
" reached lower down his waist than the rails of
" the throne permitted me to trace it. A chair
" was placed for Sir Harford, who presented the
" King's letter to Meerza Sheffee, who then called
" out aloud '*Korbaun it berovam,*' (*i. e.* may I be
" a sacrifice for your Majesty!) 'Sir Harford Jones
" 'is come to the foot of your throne with a letter
" 'and presents from your brother the King of

" 'England. The Meerza then laid the King's " letter on the edge of the throne,—he then re- " ceived the presents from Mr. Morier, and laid " them on the first step of the throne. This ended, " Sir Harford addressed the King in English, in a " set speech,* which, when finished, Jaafer Ally " Khan repeated in Persian, having previously " learnt the translation of it by heart. The King " then said,—' Elchee! (*i. e.* Ambassador) you and " the gentlemen with you are welcome.' Sir Har- " ford then sat down, Morier standing on his right " hand, Jaafer on his left, and the rest of us ranged " at a short distance behind him. The King was " very affable, and told the Ambassador he derived " great satisfaction from the union and friendship " which were now about to take place between " Persia and England. He then asked after the " health of his good brother the King of England, " and enquired particularly whether His Majesty " George the Third was still reigning, or whether " his son had succeeded to the throne. Sir Harford

* The Editor of a Review permitted himself not only to sneer at this speech, but at the appointment to the Mission of the person by whom the Speech was made. The only punishment I wish him, if it were possible, would be, to place him precisely in the same situation in Persia as I was; and then, as a wounded officer, whose commander had led his troops into a scrape, said, " Before I die, I should like to see how this blundering rascal will get out of it."—" Ne Sutor ultra crepidam," on which Doctor Bland says, " Men should not at- " tempt to discourse on matters they do not understand,—they will " then be listened to with no more attention than would be given " to a blind man discoursing on colours."—" Cada qual trablé en lo " que sabe."

" replied,'God be praised! His Majesty King George
" the Third is still on the throne.'—' What!' says
" the King of Persia, turning to Meerza Sheffee,
" ' Have the French told us lies in this respect
" also? you know they said that King George the
" Third died in June last year.' Soon after this
" we were dismissed, and observed pretty much
" the same ceremony as we had done in withdraw-
" ing from the Prince at Schyras. On mounting
" our horses to return home, three guns were
" fired from the palace, as a salute; and in passing
" through the different courts, the troops, dressed
" in a very poor imitation of European uniforms,
" were drawn up, and going through such exercise
" as the French had taught them.

" The reason why the King of Persia appeared
" with so little splendour to-day, is that it is the
" second day of the Moharrem, or mourning for
" the death, or rather murder, at Kerbela,* of Imaum
" Hossein, one of the sons of Aly, by the Prophet's
" daughter Fatima. This mourning lasts ten days,
" during which the Persians ordinarily decline to
" undertake any kind of business. The King
" of Persia's consenting to receive the Mission
" at this period, and to order that negociations
" for a treaty should immediately commence, is
" regarded as something very wonderful and un-
" common. But Sir Harford observes to me, that
" he considers this to be Meerza Bozurg's doing.
" He also told me, in strict confidence, that since

* Vide Appendix to the Wahauby.

" his arrival at Tæheran, Meerza Bozurg's private " secretary has arrived, and waited upon him, by " order of his master, with messages of the very " utmost importance."

Having now brought the reader and myself *fairly* into the presence of the King of Persia, I shall discontinue the Journal style I have hitherto pursued; first, because for some reason or other, (probably from the quantity of public writing which now became necessary—for the Mission had no less than six regular and distinct correspondences to sustain) my friend finds it inconvenient longer to attend to his private diary; and, secondly, because that form of communication, when continued too long, becomes dull and tedious. I have used the word *fairly*, for a reason which will appear by and by,—and it will be seen my design was to use it *ad literam*.

It seems necessary, however, that I should once more return to my friend's Journal, as being the easiest and best way of communicating the opinion the King of Persia entertained of, or rather the impression the Mission made on, His Majesty. On the 18th, I paid a visit of ceremony, accompanied by the gentlemen of the Mission, to the Ameen-ed-dowlah,—and I see Mr. Sheridan observes—" He told us that the King was quite " pleased yesterday with all the gentlemen, and " delighted with the presents,* and that His Majesty

* By and by the reader will see this Minister held a different language concerning them before they were made.

" swears he will never again have any thing to do " with the French, who, he says, come from the " desert, whilst we come from the city.* Now, " this is of course owing to Sir Harford's know- " ledge of their customs, and the respect he pays " to their prejudices, for he will not even suffer " (and very rightly too) any wine to be drank in " the Deevan Khona, or room appropriated for " public reception."

It will easily be conceived how anxious I must have been to conclude some compact or treaty, by which the rash and unwarrantable proceedings of the Indian Government might be prevented from producing the whole of the mischief with which they were fraught: and I had the good fortune to find what I scarcely expected, that on this subject Meerza Sheffee was nearly as anxious as myself. For in a visit which I paid him the next day, he told me, that himself and the Ameen-ed-dowlah were to be the Persian Plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with me, and that their full powers were to be made out as soon as possible; but that though the King of Persia had consented to receive the Mission, nothing could be passed through the Persian Chancery, if I may use the expression,

* General Gardanne was lodged at Meerza Sheffee's: the old man was extremely delicate and nice about his rooms and carpets, and he repeatedly complained to me of the annoyance he suffered from the General's custom of spitting on the carpets; and I can hardly imagine any thing more offensive to the feelings of the Persians than that, which even to us appears a very nasty and dirty trick.

during the ten days of national and religious mourning. This led me to make a proposition to the Meerza, which I was pleased to find he willingly adopted; which was, that conferences for a preliminary treaty should immediately take place between himself, the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and myself; so that when their full powers were made out, we should have little more to do than exchange them mutually, and sign the preliminary treaty.

The regulated attendance of the Persian Ministers on the King, during various periods of the day, the business of the State which they have to transact when absent from the presence, made it necessary to hold these conferences always at night; and they generally lasted till near day-break in the morning. The two Ministers, when they were tired, constantly fell asleep, with their hands on their knees; and Meerza Sheffee, when any thing was proposed which was not agreeable to him, invariably pretended to do so; and afterwards, when he thought my patience had been sufficiently tried, he either returned to the charge, or tried it further, by the recital of some cock and bull story, which had no end. Although this was vexatious and provoking enough, thank God, I never lost my patience, and I once paid the old Minister in his own coin. The morning was breaking, and I perceived him wishing to close the conference and to dose; I got, however, the word, and I began to entertain him with a geographical account

of all Europe, the names of the kings and queens, and how many children each had, &c.; but the time for morning prayer (that is, when a white thread can be distinguished from a blue one) arrived, and we broke up, the Meerza saying, *Mah-sha-lah,—i. e.* "well done," and accompanying the words with a very significant motion of his head. How this nobleman went through the immense quantity of business he did, and how, at his great age of seventy, incommoded by a troublesome complaint, he contrived to stand so long in the King's presence, as the etiquette of the court required him daily to do, I was always at a loss to imagine. However, I frequently saw him return from court, either to his own room at the palace, or to his own house, quite exhausted,—throw himself down on a mattrass, and have immediate recourse to opium.

From Mr. Sheridan's Journal, I see that on the 26th of February, the troop were drawn up in the court-yard of our lodgings, to do honor to the King of Persia's full powers, which were then sent for my examination and acceptance,—and that those powers were on the same day returned to Meerza Sheffee,—carried to him by Mr. Morier, —and accompanied by a note to him from me, stating, that I considered them to be ample and sufficient for the purposes they were intended;—mine had been previously submitted to the Persian Ministers, examined, and approved by them. The next day, at our meeting, these powers were

regularly exchanged, and, very shortly after, the preliminary treaty was signed. An article was inserted in this treaty,—I think, as far as I recollect, it was the third,—by which the Persians bound themselves, in the event of General Malcolm (but his name was not mentioned) arriving in the Gulf of Persia with a body of troops, that they should be received in the most friendly manner, all their wants (being paid for) supplied, and allowed to remain on the Island of Carrack, subject to ulterior arrangements.

I have not a copy of the treaty by me, and if I had, I know not that I should be justified in the insertion of it in this *mémoire ;* nor do I feel myself called on in this place to canvass the necessity and propriety of the stipulations it contained ; but, perhaps, it is allowable for me to request the reader to reflect on the very difficult and delicate circumstances under which it was negociated and concluded. I shall, however, always feel proud when I recollect that it was approved by that great statesman, Marquis Wellesley, that it was ratified by my Sovereign, with, (however) to me, the very honorable alteration, that the amount of the assistance to Persia which I had held out, and with which the Persian Government were perfectly contented, was augmented nearly by one fifth. I know that those who were afterwards called to His Majesty's councils, and some of those for whose benefit and security the treaty was made, considered it

right to abrogate this treaty by such means as were in their power; but, for my part, I shall always think that those who undertook to change or abolish a point of Oriental policy, approved and adopted by Marquis Wellesley, though they might thereby become entitled to be considered as very *bold*, did not thereby entitle themselves to be esteemed very *wise* statesmen. When I left Persia, there was not one affair, from the smallest to the most important, on which I was not consulted, and my advice adopted; —in a few months after my departure, another power had gained the ascendancy, and entered into stipulations with Persia, the effects of which sooner or later we shall be made to feel. The gentlemen who were with me, several of whom are alive, best know whether what I have stated in this last paragraph is *true or false*; and if they esteem it to be the latter, I beseech any one or all of them to proclaim it to the world to be so. That great sums of money have been spent in Persia, there can be no doubt; that we have derived little advantage from those expenditures, is equally certain:—where has been the fault? Partly, from the feverish state of our intercourse with Persia; partly, from want of system in our councils; and more, from the rash exposition made by Lord Minto, of the conflicting authorities of the Crown and the Company. Our intercourse with Persia should never have been carried on but through

the Crown, and under its sacred name. These are subjects on which I could dilate at much length, but a publication of this sort is not the medium through which so important a matter should be discussed; nor is the present a moment in which, *me judice*, our future policy in respect to Persia, should be made generally public. If the Turk receives an ambassador from the throne, why refuse it to the Persian? Does any one think the good-will of another will be secured, by declaring that you think him a man worthy of less respect than his neighbour?

We are now fast approaching to scenes, which, when related, will no doubt astonish the reader, for, on my conscience, I believe no such ever before took place in the annals of diplomacy. When we come to the minutes made by Mr. Sheridan in his Journal, of the general answer I made to Lord Minto's accusations against myself and my proceedings in Persia, it will be seen for what purpose I disclose the following most extraordinary circumstance which took place on signing the preliminary, treaty. The transaction is become matter of history, Meerza Sheffee is dead, and the story may now be told.

In the preliminary treaty, there was one article left *indefinite;* but it was well understood between the plenipotentiaries, in what manner, on the ratification of the treaty, that article was to be made definite by His Majesty's Government; and I had

throughout the whole of the negociation insisted on maintaining as a *sine quâ non*, that this article should, in this respect, be left to the decision of His Majesty's Government. I had delivered to Meerza Sheffee, as the principal Persian plenipotentiary, the treaty signed by me, and he had in his hand the counterpart signed by the Persian Ministers, apparently ready to deliver to me. But all at once he laid it down on the carpet, and took it into his head to begin talking on the indefinite article, and insisted on its being made definite, before the treaty was sent to England for the ratification of H. M. Government. A little debate ensued, which of course ought not to have been the case, and which, as may be easily imagined, I was anxious to put an end to; when most unexpectedly, and perhaps fortunately for me, he so far forgot himself as to say,—" do you come here to " cheat us?" The terms of this speech are in Persian so dreadfully gross, that they cannot be rendered into English by any decent words; on hearing which, I snatched up the counterpart treaty lying on the carpet, gave it to Mr. Morier, rose up, and addressed the old Minister:—" You " stupid old blockhead, do you dare to use these " words to me, who in this room represent the " King of England; if it were not for the respect " I bear your master, the King of Persia, I would " knock your brains out, if you have any, against " the wall!" and suiting the action to the word, I

pushed him with a slight degree of violence against the wall which was behind him, kicked over the candles on the floor, left the room in darkness, and rode home without any one of the Persians daring to impede my passage. The instant I arrived at my lodgings, I retired to my private apartments, which were in a small court separate from those of the gentlemen, and caused the outer-door to be shut. I was scarcely seated, before several persons came thundering at that door; I went to it, and asked them who they were, and what they wanted; they answered they came from Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, that they had brought with them the treaty, with my signature, and were ordered to demand from me the counterpart, signed by those Ministers. To this I answered, "I cannot be disturbed now, "go and tell your masters this is a matter which "will keep till morning very well, and by that time, "perhaps, Meerza Sheffee will recollect himself." They became extremely loud and importunate, and said "it was as much as their heads were worth "to return without the treaty." I said, "I will tell "you what it is, my worthy friends, by G—d; if you "stay here making a noise and a riot, I shall soon "make *that* as much as your heads are worth." After a little pause, I heard them, on going away, *very distinctly* say, "by G—d, this Fringee is "either drunk or mad."

I requested the next morning to be admitted to

a private audience of the King of Persia; my request was granted, and as soon as I had made my obeisance, his Majesty said, "so Elchee! I suppose "you are come to make an *apology* for your un- "heard of behaviour last night to my Vizier."—"I "am come," replied I, "as my duty requires me "to do, to explain my conduct to your Majesty; "and that done, if you judge I have acted wrong, "I am willing, as a private person, to submit to "any censure your Majesty may esteem proper; "but I must declare to your Majesty, the King "of England does not allow his Representative *to* "*apologise* without his royal and special orders, "and I need not tell your Majesty, that in this "room, and in your presence, I am representing "that great and powerful sovereign." I then repeated to the King of Persia the words the Minister had made use of to me; and added: "Suppose I had so far forgotten myself, as to have "made use of such words to any person deputed "to the high honor of representing your Majesty, "would you have been well pleased if that person "had been base enough not to have noticed them "in the way they deserved?" The King of Persia laughed, and said; "*Hak daree*, you have right on "your side, the old man should have recollected "what Meerza Bozurg told him about Europeans, "and especially about yourself; that in his con- "versation with them he must take care not to "use words to them which he frequently uses to

"persons of great rank here; but I must call my "old Minister in, and you must make it up." Meerza Sheffee soon appeared, and the King said, "Meerza Sheffee! *Asof-ud-dowlah*, (*i. e.* Vizier of "the Empire,) here is the English Ambassador, "come to say *he is sorry for what has happened.*" "—Stop there, please your Majesty; *I come to say "I am sorry for the occasion of it;* but further "I will not say."—"Well, well," said the King; "it is for the advantage of my service that you "two should be friends; and now, Ambassador, I "tell you I am well pleased with the treaty as it "stands, since I am sure, from what I see of you, "that whatever you have held out to us will be "performed by your Government." I shortly afterwards left the palace, and in the evening I made a point of appearing at Meerza Sheffee's Meglis or levee, and from his politeness and attention, it appeared he thought no more of what had happened.

Now all this, even to me, appears almost like an Eastern Tale; but there are persons at this instant in England who know that every circumstance happened as I have related it.

I could not rationally have wished that the difficulty, delicacy, and anxiety of my situation should receive any increase. I had signed a treaty for some articles of which I had no authority in my instructions; but the proceedings of the Governor-General, and what I saw going on in Persia,

forced me; or, rather, made me think it right to do so; I had reason to expect that in a few hours more I should receive an account of a British armament ariving in the Gulf of Persia, for an avowedly hostile purpose; and I had had the *singular good fortune* to be obliged to put myself, with the prime Minister of Persia, in a position which, though the wound at present appeared healed, yet according to any estimate of human nature I could make, and more particularly *of Oriental human nature*, the scar would long remain; and that if any circumstances of an untoward nature happened to me, the wound might break out a-fresh, and the crafty old statesman not be sorry to make me feel, (however he might have been wrong) that I had offended him.

The ink with which the treaty was written was scarcely dry, when a circumstance took place, the difficulties of which, at the first view of them, might have appalled a very stout heart, and raised a doubt as to the possibility of their being surmounted. Before day-light one morning, an express arrived from Bushire, and brought dispatches from India. My servants awoke me to receive them, and brought me candles by which to read them; and, courteous reader, what do you think I did read? Why, that the Governor-General of India had directed the bills I had given to the Persian merchants on Bengal, which *his masters*, the East India Company, had ordered him to pay,

to be protested; and that he had taken on himself to annul a Mission proceeding direct from his Sovereign, over which, in a public letter, he had once confessed that he had no control; and to dismiss, with as little ceremony as if he had been his valet de chambre, a gentleman acting under the sign-manual of his Majesty, and his accredited Plenipotentiary at a foreign court; and all this based on interested and unfounded representations made from different quarters; and not only without paying the slightest attention to the nature of the dispatches forwarded to him by that person, but absolutely daring rather more than to hint at their containing gross misrepresentations, if not falsities.

It is true, he might perhaps imagine that he had a precedent for protesting the bills, as in the case of Mr. Manesty, who had proceeded in a most expensive manner into Persia, I cannot say against (for he had none) but without the order and permission of the Marquis Wellesley, who therefore ordered the bills he drew to be protested; but I do most sincerely pity those brains which could jumble my case and Mr. Manesty's together; and I do most sincerely despise, with whatever titles he may be decorated, with whatever power he may be clothed, that man who wantonly, rashly, and perversely attempts to degrade or lower the name and character of his Sovereign in a foreign land!

But, as Othello says: "no more of that," let us proceed to view what evils these unlooked-for measures produced, and how they were remedied. It appeared to me necessary, that without the smallest concealment, they should as soon as possible be made known to his Persian Majesty and his Ministers; and it at first flashed across my mind that the absurdity of the measures themselves, like some animals which carry the poison and the antidote in the same body, would rectify all their bad effects. This, however, was not the case.

I called up Jaafer Ally Khan, and after succinctly communicating to him the substance of what had happened, I desired him, before the day broke, to go to Meerza Sheffee, in the hope of catching that Minister alone, and before his proceeding to court, and inform him of it also, adding, that as soon as translations of those parts of the Governor-General's dispatches to me just received, which related to the Governor-General's resolves could be made, they should be sent to him for the information of his Persian Majesty. I also desired Jaafer to tell Meerza Sheffee that I wished to wait upon him at his very earliest convenience.

When Jaafer returned, he told me that he had caught the Meerza just as he was coming out of his harem; that after the Minister had listened to what he had to say, he threw himself back against the cushion behind him, and said, "Jaafer Ally

" Khan, do you see this old head of mine? it will " be off these shoulders before this time to-" morrow; you may go and tell this pretty tale to " the King yourself, if you please, and see what he " will say to you. As for me, tell the Ambassador " I will have nothing more to do either with " himself or his business; General Gardanne " cannot yet be passed the Persian frontier, I will " advise the King instantly to recall him, and form " so strict an alliance with France, that shall " amply protect us against the designs of that " fool in India." This was awkward enough, and I sent to the lodgings of Meerza Bozurg's private secretary, to ascertain whether he had or had not left Tæheran on his return to his master. My messenger returned very shortly afterwards, with this gentleman accompanying him. When I told him the situation in which I was, he instantly exclaimed, " My God! my God, what will become " of my poor master?"—" Why," said I, " the same " that will become of me, we shall all stand or fall " together. Meerza Sheffee I find is weak enough " to be wailing when he should be acting; but " this must not be our case; sit you down, and " write a note to Meerza Sheffee, which I will dic-" tate to you, and which you must carry to the " palace and deliver to him in his private room." The note, as near as I can recollect, was to the following purport:—

" Jaafer has returned to me. I am sorry to

" find your Excellency does not wish to see me:—
" it will be to your advantage and mine that you
" should do so; but if this is disagreeable to you,
" I desire you will ask his Persian Majesty to
" grant me an audience as soon as possible; it is
" indispensably necessary I should speak to him
" in person; accusing one another can do no good
" —acting in concert may."

Meerza Bozurg's secretary said, " Sir, you seem
" to treat this affair very lightly, but I assure you
" it is a very, very serious one, and will probably
" produce the disgrace if not the punishment of
" all your friends."—" I do assure you, my friend,"
replied I, " I do not treat the affair as a very light
" one, and to no one can it be more serious than
" it is to me, but your own proverb says, ' *Kesse*
" *ke az gourg me tersed goosfund nagah neme-*
" *dared*;" (*i. e.* he that fears the wolf will soon
" have no sheep.) Away went the Meerza with
the note, and at breakfast I explained to the
gentlemen of the Mission what had happened.

About five in the evening I received a note from
Meerza Sheffee, stating that the King was in
great wrath; but that he, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah,
would see me in the evening, at his house. On a
review, as near as I could take it, of my pecuniary
situation, I found there were bills granted by me,
on India, which were probably then under protest
to the tune of 60 or 70,000, that is, £65,000, and
in the interval of the note being carried to the

palace, by Meerza Bozurg's Secretary, and the receipt of Meerza Sheffee's note, several of these bill-holders, or their agents, who had furnished me with money, had presented themselves at my lodgings, though I had declined to see them. I found also that I had nearly 300 human mouths to feed, and near 500 beasts to provide with provender. I was indebted in the Bazar about 4 or 5000 piastres, to inferior shopkeepers, and I had about 12,000 rupees in the treasurer's hands. Now all this produced as fine a tintamarre, as my countryman, Fluellen, says, "as you shall desire to see in a summer's day."

The time appointed to see Meerza Sheffee came, and on my arrival at his house, I found him and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, sitting together, and looking more miserable than I could have imagined. They told me the King had abused them, in the most violent manner, and had said all sorts of harsh things against Meerza Bozurg. They advised me, by all means, to avoid, for the present at least, an audience of the King. I told them my view of what was necessary immediately to be done, differed entirely from theirs; that it was not only my wish, but my duty, to see the King of Persia as soon as possible, and that, in fact, nothing could be done effectually to remedy the evil, till I had seen and spoken to his Majesty. The Meerza said:—"the King will probably talk very loud, "and use many hard words, which you will not

" like."—" He may use as many as he pleases," I replied, " I give you my word I will make no reply " till the King becomes calm; but see him I must, " for your sakes, for Meerza Bozurg's sake, and " for my own sake." They then asked me what I designed to say to the King—" What God shall " put into my mouth when I am before him," said I; for I had no mind at that period of the business, to tell them what I did intend to say; thinking it more than probable, if I did so, that they would carry an account of it to the King, before my audience, and that it might thereby fail of producing the effect I wished and expected. Supper was now brought, and both these noblemen declared they had no appetite for the meal; and Meerza Sheffee, as was usual with him when any thing vexed him, began sucking a prodigious quantity of sweet oranges, and repeating aloud, over and over again, " *Kheree zan, Kheree reed,* " *Kheree mord,*" (*i. e.* Asinus natus est, asinus vixit, asinus mortuus est,) whether he designed to apply this proverb to himself, to the Governor-General, or to me, I leave the reader to determine. I began, however, to eat the supper which was put before me, very heartily, for I had taken nothing all day, and I had been dreadfully plagued and fatigued. " Come, come," said I to Meerza Sheffee, " your Excellency has given me a proverb, " it is now my turn to offer you one; *tubbe be-* " *lund bauk der bâtun heech,* (*i. e.* a large drum,

though it makes a great noise, has nothing inside.) By degrees I got both Ministers into tolerable good spirits, and I left them early, Meerza Sheffee promising to send me word in the morning, if the King consented to give me an audience the next day.

The next morning about ten o'clock, Meerza Sheffee's personal servant arrived at my lodgings, to acquaint me that the King of Persia was ready to give me an audience. I repaired to the palace, and was ushered into a sort of cabinet, where the King was sitting, and Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah standing beside him. As I approached, the King appeared to me to raise his voice; at all events, he was speaking very loud and quick, and I was soon near enough to distinguish the purport of his discourse,—it turned on the ill usage he had received from the English, and the mighty things he had lost by dismissing the French Embassy, whose praise he kept chaunting *alto voce*. I made him the customary obeisance, of which his Majesty seemed to take no notice, but continued flourishing away upon the subjects already mentioned, and every now and then making a kind of interrogatory, "*Shah raust, me gouced?*" (*i. e.* does not the King say right?) to which the Ameen-ed-dowlah, bowing profoundly, always answered, "*belee, belee, Korbaun,*" (*i. e.* true, true, O King, for whom, may I be a sacrifice.) I observed Meerza

Sheffee kept silence, and never took his eyes from the carpet. After this scene had been acted for near twenty minutes, the King, as if he had just recollected I was in the room, said to me :—" Well, " Sir Ambassador! what excuses are you come to " make now?"—" None, please your Majesty.—I " desired to have the honor of being admitted to " your presence, for the purpose of asking your " Majesty one or two questions; and, accordingly " as you shall be pleased to answer them, I shall " resolve either to remain here, and devote my " best attention and abilities to your Majesty's " service, or request your permission to return to " my own most gracious Sovereign and master, " and explain to him all that has happened." The King appeared disconcerted, and evidently had not expected to be addressed in this manner; when, after a silence of more than a minute, I continued :—" Please your Majesty, do you believe " the letter which I had the high honor to deliver " to you, from the King of England, and the full " powers which he was graciously pleased to confer " on me, and which have been examined by your " Ministers and acted on,—does your Majesty, I " venture to ask, consider these to be true and " genuine, or do you regard them as an impudent " forgery? if the latter, you will do well to send " for the splendid brilliant which I presented you " from my Sovereign, and cause it to be carefully

"examined by your jewellers, for, perhaps, that "may be false also."*—The King still said nothing. "Please your Majesty," continued I, "give me "leave now to ask you, if it is your wish to abide "by the preliminary treaty I have just signed "between England and Persia, or whether you "wish to cancel and annul it?" The King replied, with considerable quickness,—"I am perfectly "content and satisfied with it, and will abide by "it to the last; but your King in India will not "let me; he will go to war with me."—"Very "true; but I must now ask your Majesty's permis- "sion to put another question to you: Suppose "your Majesty had sent an Ambassador, provided "with proper credentials, and charged with a "letter from your own gracious self to the Turkish "Emperor; and he had been received at Constan- "tinople, and negociated a treaty in your Majesty's "name; and after that, one of your Beglerbegs,†

* On perusing Mr. Sheridan's Journal, I find this was no very bad hit. "Jaafer, that is Jaafer Ally Khan, mentioned the aston- "ishment of the King at the diamond which was sent him by the "King of England, and his surprise, as well as admiration, that "Sir Harford, when there was nobody to detect him, had not sub- "stituted another in its place." I am sorry to remark, that this observation of the King's, in my opinion, is a more serious attack on the national character of the Persians, than all the absurd stories of Hajee Baba put together: but then, to me, it confirms the remark, that the greater part of their vices are generated by the vices of their Government,—can a rapacious Government expect faithful and high-minded servants?

† This was my scarlet sin, never forgiven, nor ever forgotten, in a certain place; and this, after that great statesman, Marquis

" started up, and wrote a letter to the Ministers at " the Porte, saying to them—you must not credit " nor conclude a treaty with the fellow sent by " the King, because, in a few days, I shall send " you a much greater and cleverer man than he is, " *who shall be accredited to you from me,* and " shall begin his negociations with you according " to the latest rules of established diplomacy; that " is, by bringing a large military force with him, " and seizing the castles of the Dardanelles! What " does your Majesty imagine your good brother " Sultan Mahmoud would say to this?"—The King scarcely permitted me to finish, before he said,—" Well, well, I am satisfied, go and arrange " the whole with Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen- " ed-dowlah."—" No, please your Majesty," replied I, " the thing is gone past those gentlemen, it must " be now settled between your Majesty and my- " self: besides, I do not see how one of those " gentlemen, after so warmly expressing his opi- " nion of the great advantages which your Majesty " might draw from recalling the French Embassy, " is very likely to act cordially with me; and " though, no doubt, your Majesty finds him a most

Wellesley went out of office in 1812, lost me the fruit of near thirty years arduous service, just at the moment in which I might have rationally hoped to gather it. I was told indeed, the service in India was open to me, and I might pursue it,—*pursue it!* yes indeed, like Cain, with a mark set upon me, by which the *crime* I was supposed to have committed, *of lowering the estimation in which the Supreme Government in India had, hitherto, been held in Persia,* might be for ever remembered against me.

" able and useful minister of finance, and in that " line he renders your Majesty important services, " I must venture to assure you he knows no more " of foreign politics and policy, than a kitten." The King burst out into the most uncontrollable laugh that can possibly be imagined, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah beginning to defend himself, he said :—" Hush, hush, cat's child."*—" There is, " however," said I, " a part of the business in " which I shall feel obliged to your Majesty to " command the Ameen-ed-dowlah to render me " his services, and in which I shall be most thank- " ful to receive them. I have received from the " Persian merchants, money, for bills on India, to " the amount of 60 or 70,000 tomans, and these " bills are now reported to me as having been " protested. The merchants are naturally under " alarm, and the matter, in fact, interests your " Majesty, because the amount of these bills, was " their remittance to India of the funds for the " provision, next year, of merchandise, on which, " when imported into your dominions, your Ma- " jesty levies customs. Will your Majesty, there- " fore, be pleased to command the Ameen-ed- " dowlah, to call a meeting, at his house, of these " merchants, as soon as possible, and permit me

* *Batcha Goorbeh.* Now this nobleman had a very round face, and round eyes, which I suppose was a considerable inducement to me, to make use of the word I did ; but I was exceedingly irritated by seeing him so stupidly encouraging the King of Persia in what was neither for his interest nor his honor.

" to address them in his presence. Besides the " merchants, I owe, perhaps, 5 or 6,000 rupees, to " different shopkeepers in the Bazar; and even " to these, I think it right that the turn which " things have taken, should be communicated as " soon as possible. In the evening I will deliver " to Meerza Sheffee, in writing, for the informa- " tion of your Majesty, what more appears to me " necessary to be done." I think I must have made some sign of wishing to withdraw, for His Majesty said :—" I see you wish to go; you have " leave,—but be assured, I am better pleased with " you than ever, and that the King's favor will " always be upon you,"—which, considering that a few days afterwards, His Majesty told me, now that he had withdrawn it from Bonaparte, that personage would be completely ruined, I could but estimate as a thing most valuable.

Shortly after I left the palace, the merchants, holders of my bills on India, were assembled at the Ameen-ed-dowlah's house; and when I met them, I said;—" Gentlemen, if, when you came to my " house, I refused to see you, it was not because " I was either afraid, or ashamed to admit you, " but the circumstances of the case required that " before speaking to you I should have the honor " of an audience of the King of Persia; besides, " before such an audience took place, it was im- " possible for me, even to guess at what might be " the nature of the communication, it would be

" proper for me to make to you. I am just now " come from His Persian Majesty, and I am able " to tell you, that by his desire, I continue to " exercise my functions here as the Representative " of the King of England, and therefore, whatever " may happen, you cannot, and you ought not, to " have the least doubt that the bills which I have " granted you, will be paid. I regret exceed- " ingly, though I have nothing to accuse myself " of, that, in the interim, you should suffer incon- " venience, which is both unjust, and unexpected; " but if the discharge of the bills should be post- " poned beyond their respective dates, I here " promise you, before the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and " I think myself obliged, as an honest man, to " make this promise, that interest shall be paid to " you, for such time as they are suffered to remain " unhonored. Besides, gentlemen, to convince " you that my credit in India is not quite so low as " you might perhaps be inclined to imagine, here " are letters to me from several great Persee mer- " chants, in India, offering to allow me to draw " upon them for such sums as I may stand in need " of." The merchants departed perfectly satisfied; and as I came home through a part of the Bazar, several of the shopkeepers, with whom my servants had dealings for our daily wants, came up to my horse, and said:—" Sir! anything you want " in our way, we will furnish, as long as we have " it, without requiring payment, but at your con-

" venience." But what pleased me more than all, was, that as soon as my situation was known at Schyras, several of my old friends there came forward to assist me, and none with greater or more liberal offers than my old friend Hajee Eusoof.

In the evening I repaired to Meerza Sheffee's, whom I found quite gay, and recovered from his fright, very much inclined to compliment me on my conduct; and with every symptom and profession of being most cordially inclined to act in concert with me; but what afforded me more pleasure, was the information he gave me, that he had already communicated, by express, to Meerza Bozurg, every thing that had happened, and the result of it. The Meerza said he had never left the King in a gayer humour, and that he had constantly joked the Ameen-ed-dowlah, by calling him "Cat's child." I have seldom or ever spent a merrier evening than this proved to be; the old Minister acknowledged to me, over and over again, that he had no idea the business could have been so terminated. Before I took leave, I put into his hands a paper, to be delivered to the King of Persia. It proposed, that as soon as the documents could be prepared, a Persian gentleman, to be nominated by His Majesty, should accompany one of the gentlemen attached to the Mission, to England, for the purpose of laying before the King and his Ministers, and also before the East India Company, an account of my whole proceedings in Persia,

and of affording every explanation which might be required or desired; that I should be immediately advanced, and hereafter supplied, with such sums of money as I might require for the purposes of the Mission; and that the Mission should attend the King of Persia to his proposed encampment in the Chemen Oujoon.

It now became necessary to give a sort of general reply to all the accusative dispatches I had received from the Governor-General of India, to whom, previously to these last received from him, I had already sent a copy of the preliminary treaty. This reply, I see, from Mr. Sheridan's Notes, commenced with a sort of appeal to his Lordship, whether the conduct I had adopted on arriving at Bombay, *only a few hours after General Malcolm had sailed, and with a part of his fleet actually within sight*, had not been an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my wish, not only to treat his, the Governor-General's, character and authority with the utmost respect and delicacy, but to spare his Envoy the disagreeable circumstance of being superseded either at sea, or at the instant when he put his foot on shore, in Persia;—that I had proceeded to open His Majesty's Mission at the earnest and express desire of his Lordship himself;—that the King's name and commission, having been once put forth to the Persians, common sense told me that things of such high dignity and importance, were not to be treated lightly—nor to be brought for-

ward one day, and withdrawn the next;—that though I did not scruple to admit my inability, perhaps, to execute perfectly the important and high trust committed to my charge, yet it should not be by my means, that any thing was done, nor would I be the person to lower the dignity of my Sovereign in the eyes of the Persians; and that, as to leaving Persia, as his Lordship had taken upon him, to command me; had I been so inclined, I considered it to be impossible, after I had once landed there; and indeed his Lordship's measures were better adapted to effect my imprisonment in Persia, than to produce from the King of Persia and his Ministers, a permission for me to retire from the country.

I hope I shall not be blamed for extracting the following minutes, which I see Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, has preserved, of this letter.

" It is painful to me, my Lord, to dwell on cir-
" cumstances which may affect the merit of any
" individual, or to place my own conduct in com-
" parison with that of another—but justice to
" myself calls on me to say, that from my first
" arrival in this country, the measures I have
" adopted have been directly opposite to those
" pursued by your Excellency's Envoy. The
" gracious instructions I received from the King
" for my conduct towards Persia, breathed peace
" and friendship, and these are the principles
" on which I have acted; your Excellency's Envoy
" held the language of war and defiance, and

" those are the principles on which your Lord-
" ship's dispatches acquaint me you now mean to
" act. *I hope not.*

" I know not from what part of my dispatches
" to your Lordship, you collect that *I have pur-*
" *chased by petty or corrupt intrigue permission*
" *to approach the Prince at Schyras;* if this
" opinion is formed from other sources of informa-
" tion than my own dispatches, that information is
" false, and consequently, I may say without of-
" fence, that your Lordship's opinion is incorrect;
" if from sources which your Lordship should have
" listened to with some caution, you have been told
" I have been guilty (as you assert) of lavish and dis-
" reputable prodigalities,* your Lordship has been
" deceived; and when you accuse me of dispensing
" with receiving from the Persians, in my inter-
" course with them, common and proper obser-
" vances and accommodations, your Lordship is
" equally mistaken. His Majesty's Mission has
" been received everywhere in Persia, where it
" has passed, with the greatest honor and respect;

* Disreputable prodigalities quotha!—General Malcolm's second and third Travels in Persia, cost the Company about £262,000. I suppose he was accompanied by about 350 persons. Now if the beautiful expedition to seize Carrack had sailed from Bombay, he would have been accompanied by 2,000 troops, which, by a common rule-of-three sum, must have cost the Company £1,506,742; and all this, by their own shewing, must have taken place, but for my " lavish and disreputable prodigalities," and petty or corrupt intrigues. " I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

" and I must beg to say, if your Lordship had " been a Persian nobleman, I do not think I should " have left you much room to complain of my " want of sturdiness.

" Your Lordship next accuses me of lowering the " estimation in which the supreme Government of " India has hitherto been held in Persia.* I have " now, my Lord, served the East India Company " in active service upwards of *twenty-five years*, " therefore the greater part of my life has been " spent in their employment; and I can safely say, " I have never omitted anything in my power to " promote their interests, or support their credit. " I am, my Lord, still in their service, but if I am " *their servant*, I am *the King's subject*, my alle- " giance is due to him, I am bound to love, honor, " and obey him; and beyond all this, in the pre- " sent instance (unworthy as I am of it), I have " the high honor to represent His Majesty at " this Court. If there arose, therefore, a necessity " of explaining to the Persians the powers of my " Sovereign, as contrasted with those possessed " by yourself and the East India Company; it was " not very likely, with such sentiments as I have " expressed above, I should put your Excellency " and the Company, before, or even in the same

* If Lord Minto were alive, it might be worth while to ask him, why a troop of His Majesty's Seventeenth Dragoons were pitched upon to accompany General Malcolm, in his second unjustifiable Mission to Persia, whilst I was accompanied by a troop of native Madras Cavalry? Had this no meaning?

" rank, with my King. Your Lordship's mea-
" sures, and not my folly, produced the neces-
" sity of this cruel explanation, and produced it
" whilst a French Mission was still exercising its
" functions at the court of Persia. I had in honor
" no choice of path left. I may stand on a very
" slippery footing in this dreadful breach,—power
" will be exerted to crush a person humble as I
" am,—I may be on the point of being hurled into
" the ditch,—but when lying there lacerated and
" wounded, I will still cry out,—' I have main-
" tained the honor of my King, I have saved my
" country from committing an act of faithless ag-
" gression ! "

Such was the nature of my replies to Lord Minto's accusative dispatches; a more detailed account of them would be improper, even if I had papers in my possession, which I have not, to give it.

There were still two gentlemen belonging to the French Mission, MM. Jouannin and another, left at Tæheran, to settle the remaining concerns of the late French Embassy, and I have no doubt the first project of the Shah and his Ministers was to acknowledge the first of these gentlemen as Chargé d'Affaires de France; and, indeed, it was communicated to me, that he was giving himself some movement for this purpose. I therefore insisted, not only on his being immediately checked, but desired, that both these gentlemen should be

plainly told, that their stay at Tæheran was limited to a certain number of days.*

I repeat my conviction, that all the gentlemen who composed the Mission of General Gardanne in Persia, were persons of ability and science, at least all those who had the charge of any departments of importance, proved themselves to be so, from what they put on foot: some of them, indeed, since their return to Europe, have been concerned in publications, which have done them great honor; and all of them, by the trouble they gave me, left no doubt on my mind, of their serving their country with great zeal and spirit. But although the Persians have been quaintly called the *French of Asia*, I am satisfied no French Mission can ever keep its ground in Persia against an English one,—I mean as to personal estimation. At the best period of their credit, their personal estimation was but low; their levity, their hastiness, their disregard of Persian manners, and their contempt of them, was a most serious drawback, with the Persians, to the amiable and valuable qualities these French gentlemen otherwise possessed. The Persians, from hearing it often, found out, at last, what the

* "On the departure of General Gardanne, Khan, Mons. Jou-
"annin continued at Tæheran; but as Sir Harford Jones, Bart.,
"looked on this arrangement as improper, he therefore, pursuant
"to the royal orders, removed to Azarbaijeen; and when the royal
"standard was afterwards pitched at Oujan, Mons. Jouannin was
"there honored with an audience, and commanded to depart from
"thence to Paris."—*Dynasty of the Khajars*, p. 377.

word *bête* meant, and they very often took comical methods to shew the French they were not quite so great *bêtes* as they thought them. Meerza Sheffee, who was the cunningest old fox I had ever anything to do with, told me, that he once caught General Gardanne applying, in conversation with one of his suite, this word to him, and you may easily conceive, said the old man to me, I did not consider this as very "*ser feraux.*"*

The reader may feel inclined to ask me what was the opinion I formed of the French designs in Persia. There is a line in Horace, which expresses exactly what I conceive them to have been :—

"Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim."

The scheme commenced under the Directory; and M. Olivier and his companion were the precursors of General Gardanne and his Mission. At the time when General Gardanne was dispatched from Europe to Persia, Austria, and most of the other European powers, were at the feet of France, and Russia was connected with her, according to the declaration of Bonaparte, (which the Emperor Alexander did not contradict) in the most intimate manner :—"Nous sommes d'accord, et in-"variablement unis, pour la paix, comme pour la "guerre." I have not the smallest doubt, therefore, but that Bonaparte designed to form (if I may use the expression) a *point d'appui* in Per-

* Exalting the head, (*i. e.* flattering).

sia, from whence, when the time came, he might either persuade or force another great power to join him in the invasion of British India, and our allies there. For what other purpose can it be imagined, that General Gardanne carried out with him cannon founders, military artificers of all sorts, and inferior officers to drill and instruct the Persians in the military tactics of Europe? To those also were added engineers of some rank and celebrity in the French service. Besides, if the reader will please to turn to page 337 of the translation of *The Dynasty of the Khajars*, he will see that the Persians tell us, General Gardanne officially, though prematurely, broached this very scheme to His Persian Majesty and his Ministers; and the note contained in the page which follows, reports an interesting communication made to me by Meerza Bozurg on that subject; which shows that, though the Persians were, from their national character, willing and ready enough to be taught, they were not quite so willing and ready to give their teachers the benefit of their learning. Now, it may be worth while to enumerate what, if Bonaparte had come to make use of it, he would have found ready for him in Persia:—a most ample treasury, from which he would have been able to beg, borrow, or steal, without much resistance, and certainly with no reproach, that he would have cared for;—a most ample supply of provisions for any expedition which could have been collected;—the means of providing and

preparing all kinds of military stores, to a great extent and amount; — beasts of burthen, to transport and convey the *matériel* of a large army;—sixty thousand, at least, excellent irregular cavalry; and a large population, ready and eager to run to a second plunder of India,—the first, with all the glorious circumstances (according to the Persians) attending it, being almost within the recollection of the old, and deeply imprinted on the minds of the young. What shall we say to all this, if Bonaparte and Alexander had continued, as he asserted, "d'accord, et invari-"ablement unis?" Here was a mass, not indeed intended to be put into instant motion, but preparing, and which, whenever it was put into motion, would assume a most fearful and terrific character.

I know that there are many at this moment, "whose valor plucks dead lions by the beard;" who, because it did not move when they expected it, consider it impossible it ever should have moved. The reader may perhaps wish to know my opinion as to what prevented the attempt being made. I answer, the serious embarrassments, not calculated upon, which Bonaparte experienced in Spain,—the effect these had on a temper hasty and rash,—his own haughty and intolerant conduct towards Russia, which produced a quarrel between them,—and perhaps, in some degree, the acknowledgment and reception

by the King of Persia, of His Majesty's Mission. I think I can prove to a demonstration, that, if the wise and vigorous measures of the Marquis Wellesley broke up and destroyed the Mahratta confederacy, and so saved India in that way, the glorious victories achieved in Spain by the Duke of Wellington, as certainly prevented its invasion in the other.

It may be the fashion amongst certain persons of the present day, to count Persia as nothing; it may be the present policy, (though I have reason to think, that with one great Personage this is not the case) to let other powers form connections, contract engagements, and establish a footing in Persia, as if such things were of no consequence to *us*. I see also it is very much the fashion to hoodwink ourselves to the effects which, sooner or later, must follow the gigantic strides which a northern power is incessantly making, and (very philosophically, no doubt) to console ourselves with the belief that she must tumble to pieces *mole suâ*. But her schemes have been long planned,—they have been slowly, silently, perseveringly, (without turning to the right or to the left,) and, as far as they have yet gone, *most ably*, executed.

If history is worth any thing to us,—if it is not a thing like one of our modern novels, only useful to enable fine ladies and fine gentlemen to get rid of a certain portion of time, without exercising

either their minds, or their heels, or their hands, or their tongues,—why, then, let us attend to her grave and solemn page; and, when it points out what has already happened in the course of human affairs, let us at least suspect it to be possible that something of the same sort (though, perhaps, in a different shape) may happen again. And if, in the recital of the past, it affords us soundings, and sea-marks, by which we may steer clear of those shoals and false lights which have wrecked others, can it be wise to despise such a monitor? The Roman Empire did crumble to pieces, but not before it had destroyed the free states of Greece, and the Macedonian Empire, and made Asia tremble to her centre.

If our possessions in India are (as I believe them to be) most important to us to hold; if Persia is (as I believe her to be) one of the greatest outworks of that precious citadel, will any man, in his senses, say that our interests at the Court of Tærehan, are not as well worth—do not as much require—the superintendence of a Minister from the Crown, as our interests at Constantinople? And will any man, in his senses, pretend to say, that the King of Persia will be equally pleased with, equally inclined to respect, equally inclined to listen to, the representations of a Minister whose credentials and powers run in the name, and by the authority, of a commercial company and their

Governor-General, as to one, whose powers and credentials run in the higher name of the Crown, the sacred, dignified, and ostensible representative and executive power of the nation. Alas! Persia has already but too much to do with one European power. Does any man believe that the Russian Minister, agent, or whatever he is, at Tæheran, fails to explain to the Persians the difference between himself and the East India Company, or the Governor-General, (if you will) resident there? Is it because some persons have been permitted to fool away immense sums of money in Persia, that we, like peevish children, are to say, we will have nothing more to do with you? Is it because we cannot or we will not redress such things, that we are to abandon an out-post of such consequence, or to keep a weak and inefficient garrison in it? If we have acted foolishly, does it follow that we should for ever continue to do so? I say, and I think I can prove, that the *politics* of Persia are more intimately connected with those of Europe than with those of India, and even the *trade* of Persia is much more so than many people imagine.* If she is ever compelled to move against us or India, it will be by European, not by Asiatic powers. A book, on which I set a

* Although I had for many years, in the early part of my life, traded largely to Persia, and pretty successfully, yet on no one occasion, either before Parliament or at the India House, has my opinion on the trade to the Gulf of Persia been asked.

high value, being nearly the first put into my hands, early told me

Nunquam sera est ad bonos mores via.

There is no man who understands the interests of his people and his kingdom more clearly and more fully than our present most gracious Sovereign: his Ministers are persons anxious to promote the good of their country: therefore we may hope the position of England and Persia will be soon attended to.

It became necessary for me now to arrange who should proceed to England. I was by no means insensible of the advantage it might be to me to proceed thither myself, and tell my own tale; but then there was not one of the gentlemen of my suite to whom, for various reasons, I could deliver over the charge of a Mission, in such a state as His Majesty's Mission then was. Both the Governor-General and General Malcolm had acquainted me that the latter would soon sail from Bombay, with 2000 troops, to seize on the island of Carrack; a measure which, if it took place, would alone render my deserting my post with the King of Persia, an unpardonable fault. Besides, the accounts and pecuniary concerns of the Mission were, by the Governor-General's having protested my bills, thrown into such a state, that no person but myself could either arrange or manage them. And what, moreover, very greatly weighed with

me, was, that as I had not yet seen Meerza Bozurg I was but very imperfectly acquainted with several designs of the very utmost consequence, which I knew he entertained. He had generally communicated to me that there were arrangements in which both the Prince Royal and himself wished my assistance, and he had expressed the utmost anxiety and impatience that we should meet. Now, if the reader believes, that to this point of my negociations in Persia, I was as much indebted to Meerza Bozurg as I have endeavoured to shew,—and if he does me the favor to believe that I am possessed of any thing like a grateful spirit—he will perceive (even if other circumstances had not forbade it) how impossible it was for me, unless I was actually forced to do so, to proceed to England, without the consent and concurrence of that most able and virtuous Minister, and sincere and affectionate friend.

These things considered, I (most fortunately for him) made up my mind to appoint Mr. James Morier to proceed to England. The Persian appointment became matter of intrigue at the Persian court, and, like all other things there, would have become matter of pecuniary speculation, if I had not interfered, and put an end to it, by insisting that Meerza Abdul Hassan, who had joined me at Khona Khowra, and who, from a residence at Calcutta and in India, was in some measure acquainted with our manners and customs, should be nomi-

nated to accompany Mr. Morier. Meerza Abdul Hassan met with a very favorable reception in England, both from the King and from Marquis Wellesley, and His Majesty's other Ministers; and he certainly, as far as the business of his Court went, conducted himself in such a manner, as on his return to receive the approbation of his Sovereign. The consequence of all this to Mr. Morier was, that he, who before he went out with me had never been in any public employment, was all at once, from being my private secretary, taken into His Majesty's regular diplomatic service, and appointed Secretary of Embassy in Persia; and the consequence to me was, that I who had been near thirty years in a regular service, and employed in several arduous and delicate affairs, was ultimately compelled, from a sense of honor and decency, to abandon that service, and was taken——into no service at all.

" Can such things be,
" And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
" Without our special wonder ?"

In a short time afterwards, I presented Mr. Morier to the King of Persia, as the gentleman appointed to proceed to England in company with His Majesty's Envoy; and as soon afterwards as the necessary arrangements could be made, and the dispatches prepared, they both began their journey to England by way of Constantinople.

Mr. Adair had been made acquainted with my proceedings at Tæheran; and, as soon as it was possible that he could communicate with me in return, I received from him the most satisfactory and flattering opinions on what had been done; so much so as to amply make amends for the abuse and virulence the Governor-General had so lavishly bestowed upon me.

I now enjoyed, what on my honor I can say I had never done during the last eight months, that is, a small portion of time which I could dedicate to quiet, or to recreation and amusement. In company, therefore, with the gentlemen of the Mission, I visited the ruins of the ancient City of Raic, and such other things in the neighbourhood of Tæheran, the King's palaces and gardens, as were worth looking at. A little before the departure of Mr. Morier for England, I was greatly gratified by having a letter put into my hands, of which the following copy is extracted from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, the original having unfortunately been lost, with many other papers belonging to me, when I was wrecked in La Pomone.

"*Tæheran, 2nd April,* 1809.

"SIR,

"We, the undersigned, who have wit-
"nessed the many difficulties which have attended
"your Mission to this Court, and the signal suc-
"cess which has at length crowned all your mea-

" sures,—in commemoration of so happy an event,
" —in admiration of your ability,—and in grati-
" tude for your attention to our comfort and hap-
" piness,—have requested Mr. Morier, on his ar-
" rival in England, to cause a vase to be made, of
" which we now take the liberty to request your
" acceptance.

" We have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) " JAAFER ALY. JAMES SUTHERLAND.
" JAMES MORIER. ST.-J. BLACKER.
" T. H. SHERIDAN. HENRY WILLOCK.
" D. CAMPBELL.

" *To Sir Harford Jones, Bart., K.C.,*
" *&c. &c. &c.*"

Previous to the King of Persia's marching from Tæheran, we were invited to be present at the horse-races which take place every year at that capital, in the presence of the Shah. These races are on a different plan, and for a different purpose, from ours, which are designed principally to try the speed of our horses,—theirs principally to try their bottom and stamina. Ours are kept up very much for the purpose of gambling,—theirs for a purpose connected with their irregular military excursions. The distance which the horses have to run, according to what I was told, is about thirty miles. They start long before day-break, and the winning-post being the tent in which the King of Persia sits to see them come in, which

they reach a little before seven in the morning. The race, in fact, is against time, till the horses that have been able to keep time arrive within sight of the royal tent, and then a start is made, who shall reach the goal first. The horses themselves are of the very largest and stoutest Turcoman breed, and for some time before the races took place, we had frequently seen several of them training. The horses were rode by the merest urchins of boys, who certainly appeared to have no command of them, particularly as they were all ridden with simple snaffle bridles. It appeared wonderful to us, how upon horses, the most of which were nearly, and some quite, seventeen hands, these little fellows, whose legs could do little more than span the back of the animal, kept their seats, and the alacrity with which, after passing the King's tent, they *tumbled off*, to run and claim the prize which the animal had merited. These prizes are all given by the King, and, as far as I recollect, that year they were placed in bags, all marked, both in value, and numerically, —No. 1, 300, No. 2, 200, No. 3, 150, No. 4, 100, No. 5, 100 tomans, or about as many pounds sterling. These were placed immediately before the King, as he sat in a kind of *kourcy*, or chair; and the children-jockeys, after kissing the border of the King's carpet, and receiving a gracious nod, word, or smile, from His Majesty, touched the bags, made a profound reverence, and departed, with a

person carrying the bag they had respectively won for their masters. The King's own boys were very low-spirited and disappointed this year, as they neither obtained the first nor second prize. It is open to any nobleman, or man of the sword, to enter a horse for this race. In general, the King's horses carry off the two principal prizes; but this year they did not; and we saw the horses which won these prizes led in great state to the King's tent, to be presented to him. His Majesty, however, declined to accept them, and courteously observed, that it was as necessary for his officers to have good horses, as himself. Similar races take place nearly at the same time, in the principal cities of all the provinces. The same thing was practised in the time of the Zunds; and Koraun, Lutf Ally Khan's memorable horse, first established his fame at these games. This sort of race, there is no doubt, is of considerable antiquity in Persia, and must be of utility. The King's estafettes, shotters, or running footmen, are trained and chosen something in the same way; as may be seen by a reference to Sir John Chardin, whose work, after all, is incomparably the best that ever has been published on Persia.

After the race was over, the Shah ordered us to be called to him in his tent, and for some time conversed with us on what had been going on, with great affability and freedom. He then mounted an elephant, which was made to kneel

down to receive him into the *howder*, and returned to the city.

It is pleasing to find that there are times, sights, and circumstances, when the severest despotism finds itself obliged to allow the feelings of the people to have their free course and expression. I doubt whether there be a place in the world, where, generally speaking, when the people are collected in a mass, and in presence of their ruler, a more submissive and silent awe is exhibited; yet at the instant when the horses came in sight of the King's tent, and made their start, all order seemed at an end; ranks were broken, and shouts and cries were heard from one end of the line to the other,—now "Green!" now "Red!" now "Blue!"—according to the colours of the handkerchiefs, which the boys who rode the horses had tied round their heads; and not only this, but "Bravo, such a Khan!" as his horse was gaining ground; "How now, lubberly Shah!" when the King's horse was losing ground; "Holloa! snivelling Prince!" when one of the little Prince's horses was fast dropping behind. And all this uproar and motion went on, even to the annoyance, and almost danger of the race, notwithstanding the King's clerks of the course, or *feraushes*, never ceased playing away with their long sticks, to keep the course clear. The Shah himself, as the horses came in sight, stood before his tent, clapped his hands, talked loud to those about him, and evi-

dently showed us, that, when certain passions or feelings are excited, there is no difference in the clay of which the china is made, though there certainly is in the painting and gilding with which the vase may be adorned, as well as in the position in which the vase may be placed.

I omitted to mention that, in my dispatches to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which I entrusted to Mr. Morier, I requested of him to lay before the King my wish to return to England, and to solicit for me His Majesty's most gracious permission for that purpose.* I did this certainly much against what were my real wishes; but there were strong and cogent reasons which made me think it not only my wisest measure, but perhaps almost my duty, to take this step. The violence and virulence with which the Governor-General had expressed himself against me, and the continuance of the unfavorable opinions which he entertained of me, even after several of my explanatory dispatches had reached his hands, convinced me, that the communications which he had received from others had made such an impression on his mind, that it became impossible that he should ever honor me with his confidence, or that our views of what were the real interests of England and the East India Company,

* I have already stated that Henry Lord Melville, my steady and excellent friend, on hearing of this, said: "This is the only false step Sir Harford has made in Persia."

in Persia, should ever agree. If the Governor-General of India was a very high officer, the concerns in which I was likely to be embarked, if I remained in Persia, as His Majesty's Minister, did not permit me to consider myself, nor to be treated, as a very inconsiderable one; and to effect the designs I entertained, and which I knew were contemplated by Meerza Bozurg, it was indispensably necessary that I should possess the confidence of all parties. To remain in Persia merely for the sake of holding office, or of drawing a salary, never entered into my head; and, therefore, it seemed to me, that the wisest course I could pursue, as well as the one which probably would be the most satisfactory and pleasing to His Majesty's Government, was, to tender to them my resignation,—never doubting that, if my proceedings in Persia were approved, and if the unusual and unexampled difficulties which I had encountered and surmounted, were considered, I should, in some shape or other, receive employment. If, on the other hand, it should so happen, that His Majesty should decline to accept my resignation, I should then know the exact ground on which, in future, I was to stand in Persia.

In May the Shah moved from Tæheran, and encamped for some time in the beautiful plain of Sultania, where myself and the Mission, early in the month of June following, joined the royal camp. A Persian camp was not a novel sight to me, for

whether the camp was that of a Zund or Khajar Prince, the form and arrangement of it were the same; and so little do I consider that the Persians have varied in this matter, either by way of improvement, or retrogression, that the description of Darius's camp, would almost serve for that of Fath Aly Shah. In proof of this, there is a strong species of silk, worked in clouds, called *Dara*, made purposely for the lining of the royal, or other splendid tents; the Persians admit that this beautiful article is named after Darius, and at this day it is employed for the same purpose as it was by the Sovereign whose name it was destined to bear.

The King's quarters are placed at one extremity of the encampment, and surrounded by red canvass screens, called *khonauts*, and sometimes *perdehs*. The form is always an oblong square, and the screens are so pitched as to represent the curtains and bastions of a fort. The public entrance to this enclosure fronts the general camp, and before this there are other perdehs pitched, through which those who enter the royal precincts have to pass, and at which the same guard and the same officers are stationed as are at the gate of the palace in the city. On each side of these perdehs, tents are pitched, in which select officers, and a select guard, are lodged. Within the first square of the Khonauts, and at about two hundred yards from the entrance, is pitched the large tent called the *Dewaun Khonch*, or audience tent, which is supported by three im-

mense poles, each surmounted by a very large gilt ball, and the fly of which covers considerably more than an acre of ground. The prodigious extravagance of the Persians in their tents, would seem to us almost incredible. I was assured, and I believe it, that some of the King's tents had cost him from 30 to 40,000*l.* I waited on him once in the *meaneh*, or second enclosure, when he was sitting in a tent, of no very moderate magnitude, lined throughout with Cashmire shawls.

Behind the tent of the Dewaun Khoneh, the royal enclosure was again separated by perdehs, or khonauts, running from side to side, and behind these were pitched several beautiful tents; and this portion of the enclosure was called the meaneh, middle or intermediate, as being between the public portion, and that which was again parted off, and appropriated to the private tents, the baths, the ladies' tents, and the office tents of the Shah's household. In the tents occupying the meaneh, the same kind of business takes place, as in the King's cabinet, or *khelwat*, in the palace; but to the private tents, I believe, no one is ever admitted, but the little Princes of the blood. Such is the passion of the Persians for fountains decked with flowers, that they always contrive, by some means, to make a temporary one in front of the royal tent; and if the Shah remains for some time in the same place, they contrive to make for him a little garden of sweet and flowering annuals.

Between the King's quarters, and the first line of the tents of the great officers of state, there is left a large open space called *meidan*, signifying an open space which may be applied to a variety of purposes. In the Persian camp it is employed for the Shah to review the troops, and sometimes, when he chooses to direct them, for parties to play at the *jereed*. And just within the entrance khonaut, and overlooking them, is erected a high stand, very much like our stands on race-courses, from whence the Shah can not only behold these reviews and games, but, with glasses, almost every thing else that is going on in the camp.

Quarters for the Mission were assigned very near to those of Meerza Sheffee, and, indeed, previously to his quitting Tæheran, the old gentleman had, in good humor, several times told me, that whenever I joined the camp, our tent ropes should be tied together. In the royal camp, no person, not even a Prince of the blood, is allowed to surround his tents with khonauts, or screens; or to hoist any thing whatever to mark his quarters. I had represented to Meerza Sheffee, before I joined the camp, and had desired him to lay before the King, the necessity there was of exempting me from both these prohibitions; not because I wished to use that which was the distinctive mark of royalty, but because, as the Mission had much to write, it was absolutely necessary that the tent in which that business was carried on, should be

secured in such a manner that the papers should not be blown abroad; and that the second was requisite, because, as strangers in the camp, it was necessary, if we went out of the camp, either for amusement or exercise, that there should be some mark, by which ourselves, the sepoys, and troops, might find our way back to our own quarters, without being subject to making constant enquiry, and what was more likely, perhaps, subject to receive answers which might lead to unpleasant altercations. The Shah made not the smallest difficulty in granting both these requests, and accompanied his consent by a complimentary message to me, that other persons had demanded the same thing, without giving any reason for such a request, but that the reasons I had laid before him were acknowledged to be just and proper. The Union Jack therefore was hoisted in the front of the tent which was made use of for public purposes. I am afraid some of our Oriental diplomatists have (at least in my opinion) been inclined to push matters of this sort a little too far. I have never heard any one on whose judgment I could rely, nor have I ever read any thing which made me imagine, that a Minister, in a foreign country, could demand, as *matter of right*, to appropriate to himself distinctions, reserved, in that country, exclusively to mark the Sovereign of it. What would be said to an Ambassador at Constantinople, who should pretend to have a

fac-simile of any of the ensigns carried before the Sultan, carried before his Excellency, when he went abroad. I take Wiquefort to be sufficient authority to quote on this head. *Vide Sec.* VIII. *de la Modération.*

" Je dis encore que puisque la modération doit " entrer en toutes les parties des actions de l'Am- " bassadeur, on luy peut donner la mesme esten- " due, que j'ay cy-devant donné à la prudence, et " on peut dire, que c'est une retenue, dont il doit " accompagner toute sa conduite. Il doit être " fort jaloux, et extrêmement scrupuleux, à l'égard " des honneurs qu'on ne luy peut réfuser comme " au représentant d'un prince souverain; mais il " ne doit point donner dans l'extravagance, n'y " prétendre des honneurs qui ne sont dus ny à sa " personne, ny à son caractère." Every body knows, that *perfect representation* belongs only to a full Ambassador; and Wiquefort will tell any one, who wishes to know it, exactly what honors and privileges, the representation of a representation, is entitled to demand.

The royal camp, after I joined it, did not remain very long in the plain of Sultania; and, at that time, it might consist of from thirty to forty thousand souls. During this time, the King principally resided in a building, which he had lately erected on an eminence, but which was neither very grand nor very large. The Devan Khona was separate from the corp-de-logis, and stood so

high, as to command almost a bird's eye view of the plain and camp. When the camp broke up, and the King commenced his march, the sight was certainly a magnificent one, and those who wish to form an idea of it, may collect enough for this purpose, from the 1st Fasciculus of old Kæmpfer. *Relation* 15, *Pompa equitationis regiæ;* or, if they prefer it, they may consult the March of Darius, as given in Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Rollin: especially the latter, which, leaving out the silver altars and some other circumstances, will not badly describe the march of Fath Ally Shah. Indeed, when I read in Rollin the following description, I am almost inclined to doubt, whether the Frenchman does not mean to describe what I was witness to at Sultania.

"Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the "King. He was clothed in a vest of purple, "striped with silver, and, over it, a long robe, "glittering with gold and precious stones, that "represented two falcons pecking at each other. "Around his waist, he wore a golden girdle, after "the manner of the women, whence his scimitar "hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over "with gems. On his head, he wore a tiara or "mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed "with white."

Now, on the day when the Shah moved from Sultania, his dress, and that above described of Darius, were as similar as it was well possible that

they could be. The Shah had on a *purple velvet* coat, over which, instead of a cloak or chain armour, he wore a net work of small diamonds; his kemerband or girdle, was a broad band of strong gold twist, embroidered richly with pearls, from whence hung his scimitar, the scabbard of which flamed with diamonds and rubies. The handle of the poignard, which was stuck in the girdle, was covered with precious stones of no common magnitude; and on his head, he wore a tas or bright steel cap, the centre of which was raised to a point, ending in a prodigious fine diamond, and around it was twisted a dark blue and white cashmire shawl.

The Mission followed the Shah, as closely as it conveniently could, to the Chemen Oujan, where it was intended that the royal camp should remain, till the approach of winter should render it necessary that His Majesty should return to Tæheran. The reader will recollect that there were now perpetual petty skirmishes taking place between the Russians and the Persians along the line of frontier. At the time of our arrival in the Chemen Oujan, Persia had not entirely lost all her possessions on the right bank of the Arras, for she held Mogree and some other trifling villages; and the boundary of the empire towards Georgia, was, in all places, the one bank or the other of that beautiful river, till near the spot where it unites itself with the Kar.

The camp of the Shah was augmented by the presence of Mohammed Ally Meerza and Abbas Meerza, the King's eldest sons, and the large bodies of troops under their command. Abbas Meerza is younger than his brother, Mohammed Ally; but his mother is a Khajar lady, nearly related to the Shah, and legally married to him, whilst Mohammed Ally is the son of a concubine; Abbas, therefore, is considered as heir presumptive, and acknowledged as Prince Royal of Persia. To the former was entrusted the government of the great and wealthy Government of the province of Azarbaijan; to the latter, that of Kermanshah, and the superintendence of the Persian part of Courdistan. I understood that both these Princes had been called to the royal camp, in order that the Shah might review their troops and equipments.

Such as have not read the Persian account, translated in the Dynasty of the Khajars, of this meeting between the father and the sons, may be amused with the perusal of the following extract.

"When it became ascertained that the delightful "plains of Oujan were to become the abode of the "climate conquering monarch's victorious banners, "before the arrival of the auspicious retinue, the "Prince Viceroy, accompanied by the whole of "his triumphant force, with due preparations and "stores, exceeding all limits, the Serdars, Begler-"begs, Governors, learned men, and nobles of "Azarbaijan, took up their residence in the plains

" of Oujan, eight parasangs from Tabrize; so that " the moment the fortunate train arrived in those " regions, they could perform the duties of a pro- " cession of honor, wheresoever they obtained " permission, or the confidential ministers of his " Saturn resembling Majesty should judge it " proper.

"Although the Prince Viceroy desired permission " to form the procession of honor at Kapilan Koh, " which forms the limit between Irak and Azar- " baijan, permission was only granted to proceed " one parasang distant from his encampment: he " therefore halted, and kept the eye of expectation " on his Majesty's approach. His Highness, Prince " Mohammed Ally Meerza, had also arrived at " Oujan in advance of the royal train, with a con- " siderable force of the undaunted soldiery, both " infantry and cavalry, and artillery, furnished with " all the stores and supplies required for military " operations. During two or three days, the " Princes enjoyed an interview with each other, " in perfect joy and prosperity; and from the " happiness of personal communication, effaced all " trace of complaint from the area of their friend- " ship-nourishing hearts. On the 22d of Jamady, " as Sany, the day on which the royal train arrived, " they drew out on the right and left, the troops, " splendid as the starry hosts: from the mixing " and blending together of the sea of Kolzum and " Oman, (that is, of the troops of his world-con-

" quering Majesty, with the Prince Viceroy's " infantry and cavalry) this verse of the Koran— " 'the junction of the two seas,' &c. was evidently " exemplified to the sight of all, and to the under- " standing of the sagacious. The glittering of " arms was diffused in every direction, the hoofs " of horses tore up the hard flints, the lightning- " footed steeds began to neigh, and the dragon- " like cannon, poured out in profusion volumes of " flame and peals of thunder: the clouds of dust " raised by the armies turned the bright day into " night; the expanse of the atmosphere, from the " loud resounding Zambooraks, became agitated; " the flashes from the star-eclipsing muskets, filled " the vault of heaven with smoke."

" When the Sun of Majesty arose above the " horizon of the road, the Prince Viceroy dis- " mounted; and scarcely distinguishing his head " from his feet, advanced to the imperial stirrup; " the fire of affection then burst into flames, and " tears of joy involuntarily flowed from his eyes, " an event which excited the sympathy of all " present, so that the eyes of great and small, who " witnessed this scene, were suffused with tears. " His Majesty, the shadow of God, having accu- " rately surveyed the lines of infantry and cavalry, " the soldiers and body guards, the engines and " military stores, bestowed exceeding commenda- " tion on all. On his arrival in the camp, splendid " as the heavens, the chiefs, Sardars, the distin-

" guished men among the soldiers, and the cul-
" tivators; the eminent men, nobles, judges, per-
" sons of merit and learning, seeking in crowds
" eagerly to pay their respects to his Paradise-like
" Majesty,—obtained the honor of notice and dis-
" tinction by admission to the presence beaming
" with splendour."

The object I have in making this quotation, is principally to put forth an opinion, that if the dress of the King of Persia, in the present day, so nearly resembled that worn so many centuries ago by Darius; if we find the march from Saltania to the Chemen Oujan much resembling in its pomp and circumstances that towards Issus; if we find the ceremonies used towards the ancient Kings of Persia, to be pretty much the same as those used towards the present Kings, it will not be very rash to imagine, that if the works of any ancient Persian historian describing Darius's actions, reign, military marches, achievements, and misfortunes, had come to our hands, we should have found the recital of them to be delivered in the same bombastical idiom which runs through the extract I have just quoted. In none of the countries which were compelled, by the sword, to submit to and adopt the severe and abstract religion of Mohammed, did the primitive and simple manners of their first spiritual instructors make less impression in the end than in Persia and on the Persians. In vain the Koran thundered against certain luxuries

of dress and living—the climate produced the last, and called for their use,—the former the people had been long accustomed to; and though for a time obliged to lay them aside, they ultimately returned to them with eagerness and joy. Even language itself experienced something of this; for when the precise and logical Arabic became, to a certain degree, incorporated with the Persian, it also became tainted (if I may so express myself) with glitter and periphrasis.

Notwithstanding that the author of the Dynasty of the Khajars states, that "during the two or "three days in which the Princes enjoyed an "intercourse with each other in perfect joy and "prosperity, and from the happiness of personal "communication, effaced all trace of complaint "from the area of their friendship-nourishing "hearts," yet, with that dutiful regard to truth which is due from the historian, I am obliged to say, that this was by no means the case: and that the few days during which they did remain together in the royal camp, were days of considerable anxiety and vexation to the Shah,—not from the conduct of the Prince Royal, but from that of his brother, which was extremely intemperate.

Mohammed Ally Meerza, fortunately for himself, fortunately for his brother, fortunately for his father, and still more fortunately for his country, is since dead, and therefore the reader will feel but little interest in his character, which was

haughty and impetuous in the highest degree; but the following anecdote of him, related to me by Meerza Sheffee, who always spoke of him with trembling, for he regarded him as a madman, may be considered as no bad index to the qualities of his head and his heart.

General Gardanne, on his introduction to Mohammed Ally Meerza, had presented him with a very fine pair of rifle-barrelled pistols, made at Paris, the barrels of which the General assured the Prince, were worked with such nicety, that a ball delivered from them, would fly to the distance of twenty yards, so true as to strike invariably the centre of a piastre, a piece about the size of our half crown. The Prince had received the General in a room which opened to a large walled court, and from the spot where his highness was seated to the wall, was pretty much the distance for which the General had vaunted the precision of his pistols. As soon as he was dismissed, the Prince, turning to his Secretary, who was standing by him, said, "come, let's try the Frenchman's pistols; go and "hold out your hand against the wall." The astonished and trembling Secretary, after some remonstrance, found himself obliged to obey, and stand the shot. The Prince fired, and fortunately missed the mark. The first time I heard this extraordinary story, Meerza Bozurg happened to be present, and when it was finished, he turned very gravely to me, and said, "your's is a happy

" country, where no such order as this could be " given, or if it were given, would not be obeyed."

Of Abbas Meerza, the Prince Royal of Persia, I shall hereafter have occasion to say much, and considering my devotion and attachment to him, and the uniform regard he has always expressed for me, I should prefer that the reader, from what I shall relate, should draw his own opinion of that excellent and talented Prince, than that I should attempt to delineate or draw it. Of his person, however, I will say a few words. In this he certainly was much indebted to nature, for it was handsome, graceful, dignified, and easy in its carriage. His countenance bespoke a mind much at work, and possessing considerable powers of reflection and thought. His eyes were dark and rather large, but they powerfully put forth every expression conveyed to them from his soul. His complexion was that of those whom in this country are called dark. His voice had a remarkable combination of melody and strength, and his address, either when employed to reprove or to persuade, or in common conversation, had something in it peculiarly his own. Whatever he did he did well. In short, he was an amiable personification of royalty, and he acted it beautifully. Such was the Prince Royal of Persia when I left him. What the wear and tear of twenty-two years may have effected, I cannot tell. I have heard that he has had much to vex him; he has had also

the misfortune, and a heavy one it was, to lose his most sage monitor, and most devoted and attached friend, admirer, and minister, Meerza Bozurg; and his fine and robust constitution has, as Dr. Cormick informed me, suffered considerably from disease and illness. If, however, he outlives the Shah, his life, I cannot help thinking, will yet be a most valuable and important one to his country. He had then one brother, both by the side of the father and of the mother, of whom he was doatingly fond.

I estimated the united forces of the Shah and the two Princes, when encamped at the Chemen Oujàn, to have been little short of 30,000 men at the time when the Mission joined the camp. The Persian word *chemen* is generally rendered in English by the word *meadow*, but certainly the very largest meadow which exists in this country, would afford but a very imperfect idea of the Chemens of Oujàn and Sultania. They extend for miles in length and breadth, and before the spring and early summer growth of the grasses in them are touched, their extreme luxuriance, and, generally speaking, the fineness of their quality, are quite astonishing, and greatly exceed any thing of the sort I have ever had occasion to observe, either in this country or any where else, except in some of the small plains through which I passed on my way home between Erzeroum and Torat. The Chemen Oujàn must, on an

average, have supported 20,000 head of animals, from the beginning of July to the end of September, and this affords a datum on which some opinion may be formed of its great fertility and resource. Unquestionably these encampments and marches of the Shah, which, from what I saw of them, I considered not only as useless, but even as dangerous, must be a very heavy tax on the country, and a great loss of revenue. What would the grass and produce of two such plains as Oujàn and Sultania be worth, if applied solely to the breeding and feeding of cattle, horses, &c., whilst for their security nature has provided by making the entrance to them at both ends through passes easily guarded and defended, and by hemming them in on both sides by ranges of very high and precipitous mountains.

I have applied the word *dangerous* to these encampments of the Shah, particularly that of Oujàn, because I am confident that from the want of proper and common military precautions, a comparatively inconsiderable body of Russians might, any night whilst it remained there, have thrown the royal camp into confusion, and dispersed it. It is true there was the Arras between the camp of the Shah and the Russian forces, but then there were no videttes stationed on its banks; there were various places at which it might easily have been crossed, left without any guard; and considering the immense plunder

the Russians would have obtained in the event of a successful attack on the royal camp, I often wondered General Tomasoff never attempted it. In addition to all this, I found, when I was desired to attend a council in the King's tent, the information which the Persian Ministers possessed of the nature and real force of the Russians on their frontier, and particularly of the position in which the force, whatever it was, was placed,—of its powers of motion, of its supplies, and of its character,—to be so vague, so imperfect, and on many points so contradictory, as not only to cause me great surprise, but also well-grounded alarm as to what might be the ultimate event of such ignorance, and such unaccountable neglect of the commonest military rules. I have not the slightest pretence to any acquaintance with military affairs, but common sense, I think, says, that when a night attack is made, and the party attacked has made no preconcerted arrangement, by which it can instantly collect and combine its force together,—has concerted no means of discriminating friends from foes,—where all is confusion, and order set at defiance,—common sense, I say, assures us, that in such a state of things, the arrangement most likely to be made on the spur of the moment, is the arrangement of running away, on the principle of *sauve qui peut*. And this, from my soul I do believe, for some time after the Mission had joined the camp in the Chemen Oujàn, would have been the case with the Shah and his army,

even on a very slight night alarm; not because there was a want of courage—for he who accuses the Persians of this, knows nothing about them—but because there was a want of that, without which courage is seldom of much avail, and often becomes no more than *brutum fulmen.* The strong representations which were made to the Persian Ministers, on this important subject, and the representations which they made to the King, produced at last some effect, and put things on rather a better footing.

It will no doubt, be inferred, from what has already been said, that the Prince Royal, and his brother Mohammed Ally Meerza, differed in their opinions on most things—their relative situations led to this—but perhaps there was no point on which they more widely differed, than on the utility and necessity of introducing into Persia the military tactics and discipline of Europe.

> " Castor gaudet equis—ovo prognatus eodem
> " Pugnis."

Abbas Meerza was for putting every thing, as far as he could, on the European system, which Mohammed Ally despised, and was satisfied to trust in the old arms of Persia, the sword, the mace, the lance, the musquet or carbine, used on horseback, and the *zamboraak,* or camel swivel. The troops under the command of each of these Princes were reviewed previously to their taking leave of their father.

The Prince Royal's infantry, which had been under the instruction of the French officers, put me in mind of the awkward squad of a newly raised regiment of militia, put to go through their exercise; and the clothing of most of them, was not very much better than that of the company which Falstaff marched towards Coventry, and was ashamed to march at the head of into the town. His artillery, if not absolutely in embryo, was certainly in the very first stage of its infancy; and the sight of the *tout ensemble*, made me tremble as to what might be the effect to the Prince Royal, and to his country, of one rash exposure of such troops against a regular Russian force, if even numerically so much smaller as five to ten. The Prince's cavalry, which might be from 700 to 1,000, as Persian cavalry, made a gallant shew.

The review of Mohammed Ally Meerza's troops presented a different spectacle; one, indeed, of its sort, as fine as could well be imagined.—I mean that of the assemblage of an irregular body of horse—the men were strong-bodied, warlike in appearance, armed in general with a steel head cap, breast plates, or chain armour, swords, pistols, mace, lance, poignard, and musquets or carbines; most of the horses were strong, active, and some beautiful; and from the evolutions they performed, they gave me an idea that if they were put about

nothing but that which was compatible with their character, they would execute it well; and the Prince himself seemed to understand, and to be fully equal to, the management of the machine which was put into his hands. I must confess that at that time, had I been to choose with which of the two Princes I would have preferred to make my campaign against the Russians in Carabaugh, I would have chosen Mohammed Ally and his irregulars, with sword and lance, before the Prince Royal and his ill-managed cannon, newly levied, and half instructed musqueteers. Mohammed Ally Meerza is said to have had constantly in his mouth, the maxim of his great uncle, the Eunuch Aga Mohammed Khan:—"Never come within "reach of the Russian guns, and never, by the "celerity of the cavalry, allow a Russian villager "to sleep in peace."

Here the most interesting circumstance (at least to my mind) of the whole Mission took place; I mean the meeting of Meerza Bozurg and myself. It is not worth my while to repeat, and less worth the reader's to peruse, the compliments he paid me, or the kind and friendly assurances I received from him. I found him the same warm friend I had parted from, many years ago, at the gates of Schyras, and he was pleased to say he found me unaltered except in age. I had seen his eldest son, Meerza Hassan, in the Chemen at Sultania, where he had arrived from his master, the Prince

Royal, to wait on the Shah. He retained a very perfect remembrance of me, when he was a child, and when I was his great uncle's, Meerza Mohammed Hossein's, guest at Schyras, and seemed to regard me more as a person to whom respect was due, as a member of his family, than as a foreigner of some distinction. He communicated to me, by his father's desire, the plan which Meerza Bozurg had formed of resigning the appointment he held, as Minister to the Prince Royal. He told me the Shah was extremely desirous that Meerza Bozurg should enter more into the general management of the affairs of the empire, and the Meerza's place with the Prince Royal should be supplied by himself, Meerza Hassan. This arrangement was not long afterwards carried into effect, but its duration unhappily was very short; and Meerza Bozurg had to lament the loss, by fever, of his most accomplished son; the Prince Royal the loss of a most able and devoted servant; and his family and country the loss of one, who, if his life had been spared, would have been an honor and credit to both. Meerza Hassan possessed all the amiable and distinguishing qualities of his ancestor Meerza Mohammed Hossein, he was beloved in a very extraordinary manner by the Prince Royal; the King was daily becoming more and more attached to him, and from the manner in which he received and treated him, when sent

to Court on business, His Majesty evidently manifested his design of hereafter advancing him to the highest dignities of the state.

In the *Dynasty of the Khajars* the death of this extraordinary young man, is recorded in terms, which the soberer chroniclers of Europe would scarcely dream of making use of; but this very hyperbole must be admitted as an unquestionable evidence, that Persia considered his early death as no common misfortune. "The aged sphere, in "its lamentation over the decease of this youth, "shed from its eyes lucid tears, like falling stars, "and the Prince Viceroy's splendid moon of "spiritual and temporal power, from this grievous "event, became totally eclipsed. His Excellency "the Kaimacam, (Meerza Bozurg) on beholding "his son's inevitable doom, poured out floods of "tears—in short, by this sad event, tyrannic "fortune plunged the whole world into the fire "of woe and affliction." As far as my recollection and knowledge go, I can safely say, that in Persia, the death of no individual ever caused more regret and grief than that of Meerza Hassan. As soon as the account of it reached the Shah, he instantly, in order to console Meerza Bozurg, and to mark the esteem in which he held the deceased, dispatched to him, at Tauris, where the Meerza then was, the *fiançailles*, between one of the Princesses, his daughter, and Meerza Mousa, the youngest son of the Kaimacam, a child about eight years

old, whom, from that moment, his father most prudently destined to the study of the Mohammedan law, and the hope of one day enjoying the quiet dignities of the Mohammedan Church.

It was not long after my first interview with Meerza Bozurg, that he presented myself, and the gentlemen of the Mission, to the Prince Royal, and we were all greatly pleased with the affability of his behaviour, the good sense of the questions he put to us, and the manliness and dignity of our reception.

I found that there were still with the Prince Royal two French gentlemen, belonging to the late Mission under the charge of General Gardanne; but as the close of that Mission is related in the *Dynasty of the Khajars*, I shall no further advert to it. There was, however, at this time, in active service with the Prince Royal, placed there by General Gardanne, a person of the name of Raymond, who had some years before enlisted in the Bombay Artillery, and had risen to the rank of serjeant. When resident at Bagdad, I had, at the request of the Paçha, applied to the Government of Bombay, that a person might be sent up to assist the gunners sent to the Paçha from Constantinople, in instructing the Paçha's corps of artillery. Raymond was fixed on for this purpose, and sent to Bagdad under my orders. The choice of the Bombay Government on this occasion was by no means a judicious one; for Raymond was

much more a Frenchman than an Englishman; and the account he gave of himself was, that his father, who was an Englishman and a Catholic, had run away with his mother from a convent in France, and married her. Not long after his arrival with me, I had reason to think his intimacy with several Armenians at Bagdad, notoriously in the interest of France, and with M. Outrey, the Paçha's French surgeon, was greater than was proper for him to cultivate, or me to suffer unnoticed. I therefore cautioned him on the subject; and in return for this, he conveyed to the Government of Bombay complaints against my conduct, which, at my own desire, were investigated, and subsequently declared to be *false and malicious;* and I was directed to send Raymond down to the Presidency in arrest. This, however, Raymond saved me the trouble of doing, by declaring himself a subject of France by birth, and by claiming, as such, the protection of the French Agent at Bagdad, which Ally Paçha admitted. Raymond, however, suspected that, at my instance, the British Government in India would not pass the matter over without remonstrance; and therefore he left Bagdad as soon as he well could, and put himself under the protection of the French Consul at Aleppo, from whence he joined General Gardanne, who, as I said before, placed him in the service of the Prince Royal.

With the perfect knowledge I had of this man's

dangerous character, and what he was capable of, I was much vexed to find him placed where he was, and spoke pretty sharply to Meerza Bozurg on the subject. The Meerza acknowledged that I had just ground of complaint and dissatisfaction, but told me, that Raymond was considered by the Prince Royal as a very useful person, and that any very strong reclamations from me to the Prince on this subject, till I could either replace him, or until the Prince and I were better acquainted, might produce a coolness between us, which would be extremely injurious to the important designs which he (the Meerza) had in view; and that, in the mean time, he would promise Raymond should be so watched, as to be incapable of either giving me offence, or of doing mischief. After this, I considered *patience* and *prudence* to be pretty nearly synonimous terms. However, to assist patience a little bit, I told the Meerza that, being fully aware how important it was for me to establish myself in the Prince's confidence and good opinion, I would, as far as I could, act agreeably to the advice he gave me; but added, "I must tell your Excellency, what you know, "perhaps, before,—that Raymond is a deserter "from our army,—that our laws against deserters "are extremely severe,—*that if I see him*, I must "endeavour to apprehend him,—that, if I appre- "hend him, the least I can do, is, to send him "down to Bombay, to be tried,—and that, if he

" is tried, he will certainly be shot. Assure the " Prince, I will do any thing in the world to gra- " tify him, but neglect my duty. I have now told " you what my duty is; and therefore I trust his " Royal Highness will take such measures as will " not force on me an unpleasant execution of it." I was quite sure the purport of this speech would get to Raymond's ears; and, if I knew he was a great rogue, I also knew he was a great coward; and therefore I was pretty certain, that, when my speech was once communicated to him, " oxen and wain ropes," as Sir Toby Belch says, could not long after hold him in Persia. The matter turned out just as I expected; for, in a few days afterwards, he set out without wishing the Prince good morning, and I never heard any thing more of him, except from the Prince, who told me, that he considered him a very ungrateful, good-for-nothing fellow.

The Shah fully kept his promise of manifesting towards me an increase of confidence and favor, and, generally once or twice in the week, sent for me to come to him in the meaneh. At these visits, sometimes Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg were present, and sometimes they were not. At one of them, when I was alone with the King, he desired me to tell him every thing which had passed between His late Majesty Lutf Ally Khan and myself; adding, that he had heard strange stories about my intimacy with him, and stranger

still, of Lutf Ally Khan's regard for me;—" For " all which," said the Shah, " you were marked in " very dark characters in my uncle's (the late " King's) black book; and if you had fallen into " his hands, I do not think you would easily have " gotten out of them."—I then related to the Shah pretty much the same as what has been already told the reader, respecting Lutf Ally Khan, in the preliminary matter to the translation of the *Dynasty of the Khajars;* and when I came to the part in which that Prince pressed me to receive from him the large diamonds, the Shah said: " Ay, I remember Meerza Hossein telling my " uncle that, after all, he owed the possession of " those magnificent jewels to that Fringee, with " whom he was so much offended, and whom he " threatened so much." The Shah also, on my relating to him the interview between the little Prince and myself, in the Baug-e-vakeel, at Schyras, said: " Khosrow is here; would you like to " see him? I will send him to-morrow to visit " you. I cannot undo what has been done to him, " poor fellow; but I tell you, if he had fallen into " my hands, instead of my uncle's, he should not " have been so severe a sufferer. His father I " would have put to death, because, consistently " with my own safety, it would have been impos- " sible to have done any thing else with him; but " even with me, his death should not have been " such as my uncle made him suffer; nor should the

" cruel indignities he underwent, have been per-
" petrated on his person. He was a true and noble
" lion."

Next day, in the evening, I was prepared to receive the Prince Khosrow. He came attended by a number of servants, and some of the Shah's ferashees; and I went out of my tent to meet and receive him. We both entered the tent together, but he forbade any one of his retinue to follow him. I led him by the hand to that part of the tent which is considered the place of honor, and desired him to seat himself, which he did. I stood for some little time, as if to give him an opportunity of bidding me to sit down. He rose, however, in great agitation, clasped me in his arms, and burst into a violent flood of tears. When he spoke, he said:—" the Shah is very good to allow
" me to come and see my father's old and steady
" friend. I have constantly (said he) longed for this
" ever since I heard you had arrived at Tæheran,
" but I was afraid to ask permission to visit you,
" but Meerza Bozurg, who is in the place of a
" father to me, told me to have patience, and he
" would bring it about for me; last night, after
" you left the Shah, he sent for me, and told me I
" had his leave to visit you to day; you may
" guess with what pleasure I have availed myself
" of this permission." We then both sat down, and began to talk about former times at Schyras. I asked him if he remembered our conversation in

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The Mother of Prince Khosrow. Lutf. Ally Khan's eldest Son.

From a Picture in the Palace of Schyras.

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the Baugee Vakeel. "To shew you I do," said he, (to my great surprise) "I will ask you for another "penknife and pair of scissors for my *dy.*"* He then told me that the Shah was extremely kind to him, and that he rendered his situation as little irksome to him as possible. "My Lord," said I, "is there any thing in the world that I can do for "you; is there any thing you wish, that I can "procure for you?"--he answered, "No;" and afterwards made a most minute enquiry of every thing which had passed at Keshdt, between his father and myself, and rising, said:—"I bless God "I have lived to see two things; the one, that I "saw the scoundrel, Hajee Ibrahim, deprived of "sight; the other, that I have, to day, met and "conversed with, one of the best and steadiest of "my noble father's friends. I will hope I shall "see you again; but to meet often, even if the "Shah would allow it, cannot be prudent or good "for either of us; it will even now take some "time before I shall recover the temper of mind "and contentment which I possessed before I saw "you." He embraced me again, and I accompanied him to his horse, which was brought to him outside of the tent. As he was mounting, he said, loud enough for his people to hear, and with a smile on his countenance; "*Bareculla,*" (*i. e.* well done,) this is very fine, I am *a slave,* and you are *an Ambassador.* The loss he had suffered

* Nurse. Vide *Dynasty of the Khajars,* p. cxli.

had left a very imperfect outline of what his figure would have been; but even the effect which that dreadful privation always has on the countenance, had not yet entirely destroyed the beauty and dignity of his:—his mind, however, appeared to me, to be such as I should have supposed the son of Luft Ally Khan to have possessed. The next time I saw the Shah, after this visit, he asked me what I had said or done to Khosrow, "for, (said he) "poor fellow, he did nothing but cry all the even- "ing, when he came from you."

The time for the Prince Royal's leaving the Shah's camp drew nigh, and a council, to which I was invited, was held in the royal tent, as to what should be the proceedings of Abbas Meerza, and the force under his command, during the remaining part of the summer, and beginning of autumn. In the Shah's tent were assembled the Shah, the Prince Royal, Meerza Sheffee, Meerza Bozurg, the Ameen-ed-dowlah, two Khajar noblemen, and myself. A Persian council appeared to me to mean little more than to give the Shah an opportunity of delivering to those who are called to it, his opinion and wishes, on any matter he thought proper. Now, therefore, I was introduced to this council, by the Prince Royal, and Meerza Bozurg, for the express purpose of doing that which neither of them felt inclined to do, nor perhaps would have done to the extent they thought I should. The Shah opened the business with a most flourishing account of the magnitude and irresistibility of

the Persian force, the prodigious supplies of all sorts of ammunition, provisions, &c. which had been collected at Tauris and Erivan, and the excellent order and discipline of his artillery and infantry; and from all this, and from the defeat, last year, of the Russians at Erivan, His Majesty drew a conclusion that the Prince Royal should immediately march and attack the Russians, wherever he could find them; and afterwards pursue his career till he had entirely driven them out of Georgia. This scheme was highly applauded by the two Ministers, (though they had been made aware of what was to come by and by) but more particularly by the two Khajar noblemen, who I had been given to understand, had hitherto been more violent against the Russians with their tongues than with their swords. The Prince Royal said His Majesty's opinion of the force and excellent equipment of his army was most just, and that as for himself he had nothing to do but to obey such commands as His Majesty might think fit to lay upon him.

Meerza Bozurg said, that the wisdom and judgment of the Shah rendered every thing uttered by him little less awful than the reading a leaf out of the Book of Fate would be; and if what was now under consideration was, what was best to be done in a campaign against the Turks, the Arabs, the Courds, the Ouzbegs, or the Afghans, he thought the opinion delivered by His Majesty

ought to be carried into execution, without the smallest delay or reserve. "But," continued he, "our enemy in the instance before us, is the Rus- "sian. They are Fringees, and *they make war* "*by Fringee rules;* and therefore I think it would "be well, before any thing is finally determined, "to hear what the English Ambassador, who has "been ordered to attend, has to say on the sub- "ject."—The two Khajar noblemen said, it might perhaps be as well to hear what I had to say; but, for their part, they much doubted whether I understood much of the matter, especially as our way of going to work was so totally different from their's.—The Shah then addressed himself to me, and, as nearly as I can recollect, spoke to the following purport:—"I have little doubt but the "treaty, which you have signed, with my Minis- "ters, on behalf of your Sovereign, will be rati- "fied; I therefore regard the interests of Persia "and England as inseparable; and on that ac- "count I have called you here to-day, not only "that you may fully understand what I am about "to do, but that you may also deliver your opi- "nion on it; which I now desire you to do freely "and unreservedly."

"Your Majesty," said I, "has done me great "honor in calling me to your presence on this "important occasion; and I cannot express the "delight I have received from hearing you declare "that *the interests of Persia and England are*

" *inseparable.* The formidable account which " you have given, of the number and quality of " the Persian force, and the resources of your " kingdom, naturally lead me to congratulate my " country on possessing so powerful and so hearty " an ally. Asked, however, as I now am, for my " opinion on the matter before your Majesty and " your Council,—whatever may be its value,—it " becomes my duty to deliver it with freedom " and sincerity. It cannot escape your penetra- " tion, that at present the Persian army is much " more effective and powerful for some purposes, " than it can be for others; and that, again, there " may be enemies, against whom, it would be " more prudent to employ it *defensively,* than " *offensively.* In saying this, let it not be ima- " gined, that I undervalue the bravery of your " troops; but that I only speak of them relatively, " when opposed to those who have been longer " disciplined, and more experienced in a species of " warfare, to which Persia is at present not much " accustomed. Russia possesses a large army of " troops of the last description; and I cannot con- " template an *offensive* war with that power, on " the part of Persia,—particularly if carried on " under a reliance on the progress which the Per- " sians have yet made, in the European art and " system of warfare,—without great alarm and " dismay.

" The Noblemen, who have the honor of being

" related to your Majesty, have expressed an opi-
" nion, that what I shall say can be of little value.
" It may be so; but the reason they have given,
" why they think it should be so, does not strike
" me as being either very judicious, or very cor-
" rect. If your Majesty proposes to attack the
" Russians, it appears to me, the most important
" thing for you to be acquainted with, is, their
" means, their resources, what number, and what
" kind of forces, in case of need, they can, or are
" likely to bring into the field;—and on these
" subjects, I take it for granted (without meaning
" any offence), I am more amply and more fully
" instructed than those gentlemen. I have known
" Persia for many years, and I am quite surprised
" at the progress which the artillerymen and in-
" fantry have made in so short a time. It is highly
" creditable to the French gentlemen who were
" their instructors, and still more so to themselves.
" It cannot fail also of being greatly satisfactory
" to your Majesty, because it carries along with it
" an undeniable proof as to what point of improve-
" ment and perfection the Persian troops are capa-
" ble of reaching by time and perseverance: but
" your Majesty must know, that a mere ac-
" quaintance with the manner in which an Euro-
" pean marches, how he turns from the right to
" the left, or how he shoulders his musket, is not
" all that is necessary to form troops which may
" safely be relied on in battle, and that for pretty

" much the same reason, that a man does not all
" at once become a good and *bold* rider because
" he possesses a horse, saddle and bridle. And I
" should more than doubt the soundness of that
" person's judgment, who would advise an officer
" in command of raw troops to attack with them
" a body of veterans. The invaluable superiority
" which your Majesty possesses in cavalry over
" the Russians in this part of the world, and the
" nature of that cavalry, will, if properly managed,
" probably prevent their attacking you: but if
" your Majesty attacks them with your infantry,
" and should be defeated, the disadvantage to you
" will be infinitely greater than it would, in similar
" circumstances, be to them; because, as their
" whole army is regularly trained and very nume-
" rous, they would easily supply any loss of dis-
" ciplined troops which they might sustain,—
" whilst it is only a part, and a very small part of
" your Majesty's army which at present is disci-
" plined,—and therefore, if this should be des-
" troyed, you will have all to begin over again
" with great expense and trouble, and under cir-
" cumstances which may not make your subjects
" think so well of European discipline as they do
" at present. Your Majesty has laid great stress
" on what took place last year at Erivan—it cer-
" tainly did the Serdar and the garrison of Erivan
" the greatest credit, but I consider this as making
" strongly for the justness of my argument: it

" was the Russians who attacked, and the Persians " who defended the place; besides which, the " newly raised troops had to fight from behind " walls and batteries, had no chance of running " away had they been so inclined, and were also " but little exposed to the fire of Russian artillery, " which of course had they been led to an attack " in the field they must have been, and which I " can scarcely bring myself to believe they will, " for some time however, have the resolution to " stand.

" Your Majesty has the singular good fortune " to possess a kingdom, three-fourths of the " frontier of which give no reason to apprehend " attacks upon it by your enemies, of any conse- " quence; the whole energies, or nearly the whole " energies of the state may, therefore, be applied " to that part of your frontier which may be con- " sidered as most vulnerable, and most likely to " be attacked. That part of your frontier which " points to Russia, has many natural, and many " political advantages, which I trust your Majesty " will not overlook. A very large part of it has " for its boundary and defence a noble river, " capable, it is true, in the summer, of being " passed in some places without much difficulty,— " but these places should be well and carefully " examined, and whatever natural difficulties they " present should be strengthened and augmented " by every means in your power, by erecting

" fortresses and towers at convenient and proper " places. The fort, which I understand the Prince " Royal has ordered to be constructed on the " Arras, does the sagacity of the French gentle- " man who recommended it much credit. It is " in forts or towers that I should recommend your " Majesty, for the present, to station the greater " part of your newly-instructed infantry. In such " forts and positions they will be of much more " real service than they can in the field or any " where else. Your Majesty's possessions also " beyond the Arras, particularly the cities of Eri- " van and Nuckshivan, should be strongly garri- " soned, and constantly furnished with a supply of " provisions equal to two years' consumption, and " of military muniments sufficient to supply what " would be required in a siege in the same period. " Besides this, it is absolutely necessary for the " safety of these two most valuable and important " districts, that large bodies of your Majesty's " excellent cavalry should be constantly stationed " in them."

" But if your Majesty has at present on your " north-western frontier a powerful enemy, you " must not forget that a very considerable part of " that line separates your dominions from those of " a potentate who is as much interested as your- " self to prevent the further encroachments of " Russia; and I am confident that the Grand " Signor, in the present, and indeed in any state

" of his affairs, will be as anxious to cultivate a " good understanding with Persia as you can " possibly wish. It seems to me, therefore, most " fortunate that the old and intimate friendship " and political connection between England and " the Porte, are just now re-established, under the " management of a Minister of the greatest ability " and soundest judgment, whom, from the little " correspondence which has as yet taken place " between us, I can safely and confidently assure " your Majesty, is inclined to render you any and " every service in his power at the Porte, for he " agrees with me in thinking, that at the present " moment, the connection between Persia and " Turkey cannot be too intimate. If your Majes- " ty, therefore, thinks proper, I will endeavour to " prevail on Mr. Adair to recommend strongly to " the Porte, that a proper person be immediately " sent here to discuss this most important business, " and that by such means the grounds and form of " a future strict alliance between the two empires " may be chalked out. I am aware there are certain " points of religious difference between Persia and " Turkey, but after all, both are Mohammedan " kingdoms, and where the safety of both is con- " cerned, it will be wise to overlook such differ- " ences, and to put them aside. As to England, " I can hardly say just at present what is the " precise nature of her relations with Russia, " whether of peace or war, though certainly they

" are not those of very active or offensive war-
" fare; but whether these relations should, by and
" by, turn out to be either the one or the other,
" I am convinced, as far as depends upon her, she
" will prefer seeing Persia at peace with all her
" neighbours, provided such peace is not attended
" with consequences of which she may feel a right
" to complain, to seeing her at war with any
" one of them. If I am at all acquainted with the
" wishes of my Sovereign and his Ministers, they
" are, that Persia should not, by any means, em-
" bark in any thing which might put her tran-
" quillity, or the integrity of her dominions, to
" hazard; but on the contrary, that she should
" take every means of increasing and improving
" her internal strength; that for this purpose she
" should pay the utmost attention to augment-
" ing the commerce and produce of the kingdom;
" and that for promoting objects so salutary and
" important, your Majesty may always reckon on
" the cordial assistance and co-operation of Eng-
" land. In accordance with this system, therefore,
" I shall consider it my duty, until I receive orders
" to the contrary, to oppose, by remonstrance, all
" *measures proposed to your Majesty, which*
" *shall have offence for their object*, more parti-
" ticularly as I feel confident that such measures,
" the longer they were pursued, must in the end,
" render any arrangement for peace between Persia
" and Russia, more difficult to be effected, and

" when effected, more disadvantageous to your " Majesty."

I have given this long and dull detail, because I am of opinion, as long as England is England, and Persia Persia, these are the only sound principles of policy to be observed between the two countries, and that a systematic and regular observation of them will be attended with great reciprocal advantage.

It may be conceived, I was some time in delivering what I addressed to the Shah, who, however, listened to it with great attention; nor was I once interrupted in the course of what I said. But after some pause, the Shah said: " Well, for " this year I will entrust the affairs of the frontier, " and the management of our dispute with Rus- " sia, entirely to the Prince Royal and Meerza " Bozurg. They have heard what the English " Ambassador has said. The Prince may commence " the execution of his duties as soon as he pleases, " and I shall remain encamped here until he re- " turns to Tauris, in order, if he wants assistance, " that I may be ready to afford it." The Prince, on this, made a very low obeisance to his father, and said: " If Sir Harford consents, will your Ma- " jesty allow the British Mission to remove to " Tauris, and pass the winter there?" The Shah asked me, whether I should prefer staying with him in camp, or proceeding to Tauris, as the Prince wished. I replied, I had but one wish, and

that was, to be where I could be most useful to my country and to the Shah. His Royal Highness briskly replied:—"The Ambassador's advice "will be of great consequence to me, and the "service of the gentlemen attached to the Mis- "sion, by directing my different artificers in the "laboratory and the arsenal, will be highly ac- "ceptable." The Shah paid me some compliment, and then said, "*Murrakus*" (*i. e.* "You have leave.")

As we were coming away from the royal tent, the Prince Royal said to me, "I must see you again before I leave the camp;" and Meerza Bozurg said, "Come *privately*, and sup with me to-night." When saying this, he did not perceive that Meerza Sheffee was close behind us, who, on hearing what the other had said, asked Meerza Bozurg, if the meeting was designed to be so strictly private, that he might not be of the party. "I should be sorry," said I, "that any thing which "Meerza Bozurg said to me, or I said to him, "which related solely to Persia, either of us "should wish to conceal from your Excellency; "but if he has asked me to come privately to "him, to speak to me on family concerns, it is he "alone that can answer for the admission of a "third person." The Meerza then turned to his colleague, and said: "My Lord, I should certainly "have asked you to have done me the honor to "become my guest this evening, but you know

" how strictly my table is the table of a derveish,
" and that, therefore, those who give me the
" honor of their company, are more likely to fast,
" than to make even a comfortable meal; and
" though, from our long and intimate acquaint-
" ance, I do not feel ashamed to ask Sir Harford
" to partake of the same morsel that is put
" before myself, and know that he will excuse
" it, yet I should be very unwilling to ask a person
" of your dignity, and who is so renowned for the
" choiceness and magnificence of his entertain-
" ments, to do the same. The business on which I
" principally wished to converse with my old friend,
" concerns my noble master, the Prince Royal, and
" the affairs of his Government of Azarbaijan;
" and God knows, I am sufficiently aware of the
" advantage it would be, that these should be dis-
" cussed in your presence; for, in what he is now
" about to undertake, he will have frequent need
" to make requests and representations to the
" Shah; which, if they are permitted to pass
" through your Excellency's hands, will be pre-
" ferred with double force, and have a double
" chance of success. If, therefore, you will con-
" descend to honor the derveish with your com-
" pany, he will expect you after the Shah's evening
" Court breaks up."

The old Minister then turned to me, and said, " Before you go home, come and drink a cup of coffee with me." As soon as we entered his tent,

he called for coffee and caleans, and gave orders to his servant, to admit no one whilst I was with him. We sat down, and the Minister said, "I will "not detain you long; but I want to tell you, that "I approve of every word which you have just "uttered to the Shah, and more particularly of "the discreet language in which it was delivered; "for sometimes you Fringees, when you think "yourselves right, are not over polite. Moreover, "I completely concur in the principles you laid "down; but there are but few, who can tell the "Shah such things as you have just done, or to "whom he will listen with the patience he has "bestowed on you. I will act most cordially with "you, and particularly in all which concerns Tur-"key. I have one thing, however, to ask of you "in return. We all know your influence over "Meerza Bozurg; and knowing, (what is easy to "perceive) now that you are going to make some "stay at Tauris, the degree of influence which you "will soon obtain with the Prince Royal, let me "intreat you that, if instances and occasions should "arise, in which his Royal Highness should think "that I do not serve him as warmly with the "Shah, as it might be in my power, *you will, in "person and in private, make such explanations "to him, as I shall furnish you with.*"—"I will, "most willingly. I owe you every proper ser-"vice in my power; and I will zealously perform

" the promise I now make." I then retired to my tent.

I hope the reader will not accuse me of unpardonable vanity, if I extract the following from the translation of the *Dynasty of the Khajars:*—

" And every succeeding day, the admirable qua-
" lities, and sincere attachment, of Sir Harford
" Jones, Baronet, became more conspicuous in the
" area of demonstration. As most of the import-
" ant treaties and transactions with the Othoman
" Government, and those of Europe, had been
" entrusted, by the royal command, to the Prince
" Viceroy, he did not allow himself a single mo-
" ment's repose, either in these points, or in his
" campaigns against the Russians, who, at this pe-
" riod, were hostile to Iran and England, and in
" alliance with France. The above-mentioned
" Envoy, therefore, with profound prudence, and
" reflecting foresight, judged it proper to remain
" near the illustrious and puissant heir to the
" Crown. As soon as he had completed the treaty,
" with some other details, he, by the royal com-
" mand, stopped at Tabreez, and was engaged in
" attendance on the Prince Viceroy; where, by his
" praiseworthy services, and elevation of senti-
" ment, he attained unbounded confidence, and
" distinguished favor, to such a degree, as to be-
" come an object of envy to the most ancient
" servants of the Crown,—how much more to all
" others!"

After the evening Court had broken up, I found Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg in the latter's tent, and both them and myself, (for it was near ten o'clock) more ready for supper than for conversation. Our repast, in point of luxury, was certainly not beyond what Meerza Bozurg had promised, but every thing was excellent in its kind, and the cookery of the very best. There was a sort of costume in the dress of the Meerza's servants, which seemed to accord with that of their master, or indeed to be borrowed from it, and a quietness and humility in their motions and service, which was peculiarly striking. On the contrary, the head servants of Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, were generally richly dressed, pompous and bustling in their manners, and, where they dared to be so, rude, uncivil and rough. One of the servants of the latter, had, on a particular occasion, attempted to be so towards me, and I set him down, by asking, as a favor, that he would tell me whether it was *himself, his master, or the Shah,* who had ennobled him, in order that I might in future know in what manner to behave to him. By some means or other this got about, and it was not a little that the fellow heard of it afterwards.

After supper, as soon as we were by ourselves, the old Minister opened with the most unbounded praise of the Prince Royal, and how fortunate Persia was to possess a Prince of his talents and

virtues. To all this Meerza Bozurg assented, and spoke of the inhabitants of the province being greatly attached to him; but added, that, though under the Prince's government, the revenues of the province had been considerably augmented, and the commerce of Tauris increased, still it was impossible for the Prince to support the military establishment wished by the Shah, without receiving assistance from His Majesty. Under the present system it might be possible, he said, to collect indeed a little more revenue, than was now done, but if it were attempted, it would be at the risk of creating disaffection in the Governors of several districts, a circumstance, which, no doubt, the Russians would be ready enough to take advantage of; and as to the Prince's household establishment and expences, he could safely say they were managed and conducted with the greatest regularity, and the very utmost regard to œconomy, which was consistent with his dignity and credit. A very great trust and charge, would, in consequence of the resolutions adopted by His Majesty to-day, be thrown on His Highness, who, instead of this, had expected that the Shah himself would have taken a more active part in the campaign, and that therefore he would have had only to support his own troops, as an attached body, instead of having to provide for, and subsist the whole force employed. Meerza Shelfee acknowledged he saw this in the light in which Meerza Bozurg had represented it;

" but," said he, " you know as well as myself, that " to get money out of the King is the most diffi- " cult of all things in the world, and in this case " more particularly so, because there are persons " continually representing to His Majesty the " highly flourishing state of the province of Azar- " baijan; and that has caused him to suppose, and " it will be very difficult to undeceive him, that " the Prince is forming a treasury.* It will be " easy, indeed," continued he, " to prevail on the " Shah to give the Prince assistance, in troops, to " any extent he asks for, but I fear the payment " and subsistence of them must come from the " Prince." Meerza Bozurg said, " if that was to be " the case, such troops would be an incumbrance " instead of assistance, and as to what the Shah " imagines, about the Prince laying by money, he " would leave it to Meerza Sheffee's own judgment, " whether, with the troops the Prince had in his " pay, the different establishments he had on foot " for the improvement and safety of the country, " the charge of his household, and the expence " going on in the erection of the fort of Abbasabad, " such a thing could be the case." The Meerza frankly acknowledged it could not; and added, " I " greatly doubt, Meerza Bozurg, whether any of " us could have managed as you and the Prince " have done. All I can say is, before the English

* The word was *khaznah*, which means treasury, but the better English word here, perhaps, would be hoard.

" Ambassador leaves the camp with you for Tauris, " either the Shah will ask to see him, or I will " contrive he shall see the Shah; and then instruct " your friend as to what can be reasonably asked, " and prevail on him to ask it. I will certainly " not only not oppose, but, as far as I can, will " assist the representations he makes. The Ameen- " ed-dowlah will probably do all in his power " to make the Shah think the Prince needs no " assistance from him; but he will be cautious, I " think, how he gets into an argument with your " friend, especially if he finds me shy in backing " him. This person certainly does contrive to " draw from Isfahaun, and the districts committed " to his charge, as well as from the general super- " intendance of the finance department, large sums " to the King's coffers, and this gives him weight " and credit at Court; but I very much doubt " whether the system he is pursuing, is not that " of killing the goose to get at her eggs all at once. " It is curious to me that the Shah, who in other " things is so very sharp-sighted, should not be so " in this." Such was the general bent of our conversation as it related to public matters, and it was very late when we parted.

There was not a long interval between this supper and my being required to attend the Shah. When I was introduced to him he was alone, and after the ordinary courtesies had passed between us, the Shah said:—" I hope you are satisfied with

" the arrangement made for Abbas,—I have done " this to please you."—I replied, "every thing " which tends to the honor of the Prince Royal, or " places him in a situation of shewing his devotion " to your Majesty and his love of his country, I " shall always rejoice at; but I am confident, that " your Majesty is too considerate and too generous " to expect, that the young lion should, without " assistance, do that which even the old one in the " plenitude of his strength would find difficulty in " performing."—"I do not understand you," said the Shah:—"have I not promised to remain here " and assist Abbas? have I not put a very large " force under his command? am I not ready to " give him more troops if he wishes them? but " you yourself advise that we should act on the " *defensive*, and therefore, I suppose, the troops " which have been appointed to attend him are " sufficient."—I replied; "I have, please your Ma- " jesty, no fault to find with the numerical force " which the Prince is to command; but your " Majesty knows, that, the more *men*, the more " *means* are required to keep them together and " in condition to act effectually: and you can " hardly imagine, that men who are expected to " be at all times on the alert, and to defend them- " selves and their country on all occasions, will " do either the one or the other with good will, " and as they ought to do, unless they have the " common necessaries and comforts of life afforded

" them,—and indeed, sometimes, the enjoyment " of the inferior luxuries of it. From what I have " seen of the Prince Royal, I cannot believe he " wishes to amass gold and leave his soldiers to " starve; but rely on it, unless His Royal High- " ness has the means of paying them and feeding " them properly, there must, in the end, be very " bitter consequences attending his present ex- " pedition."—The King then said peevishly:—" I " suppose you are sent here to ask me for money." —" Your Majesty," replied I, "knows best whether " I am *sent*;—but I believe myself *sent for*."— " Well, well," said he, "it is all the same thing, " you want money, and I have none to give;— " some fool or other has been telling you about " my wealth—where should it come from? I have " put a Prince in every province, and the report " I receive from them is, that the revenues of the " provinces do not do more than support the " charges of Government. It is true, that on the " Nourouze they send me presents, but what are " they?—not money—but horses, camels, mules, " sheep, shawls, pearls, and such sort of trumpery; " —the first, as you see, enables me to move about, " and then," bursting into a laugh,—" the women " coax me out of the two last. Of money, real " money, Mr. Ambassador, I get no more, as the " Ameen-ed-dowlah will tell you, than pays the " troops I keep on foot, and my household estab- " lishment. It is true, I have got a parcel of stones,

" more perhaps than any other monarch has,—but " what are these worth in a case of this sort? God " bless you,—you think, I suppose, that I am like " your King, who, you told me the other day, " spends 100 millions of tomans in a year. Why, " Mr. Ambassador, this is a sum no Persian King " ever saw in his sleep.*—No, no, Abbas must do " as well as he can, and when he wants help, and " sends for it, I will march to assist him."

" What your Majesty has just been pleased to " say," replied I, " really gives me great concern " and surprise, particularly after what we heard " from your Majesty a few days ago, on the mag- " nitude and extent of your resources; however, " it is a great consolation to recollect that your " Majesty has declared *the interests of Persia* " *and England to be inseparable.* It has been " on this basis that the treaty between the two " countries has been negotiated and signed; it has " been on this basis that a certain assistance in a " certain manner has been stipulated to be afforded " by England to Persia. Now I have not the " smallest doubt but that this treaty will receive " the ratification of my Sovereign; but who will be " placed at your Majesty's Court, for the purpose " of carrying it into execution, I know not. If it " should be myself, (which I do not think very " likely) I now frankly declare that I shall think it " my duty to take care that the whole of the as-

* *Der Khob ne deedet est.*

" sistance stipulated shall, in some manner or " other, be applied to strengthen what I shall " call (though improperly) the European frontier " of Persia.

At this moment Meerza Sheffee, who, I take it for granted, had, in some part of the tent, heard every word which had passed, came in; and the Shah said, smiling, " Baba!* here is the English " Ambassador come to ask me for money for " Abbas; you know I have none except I borrow " it of you or the Ameen-ed-dowlah."—" Please " your Majesty," said the Meerza; " you know I " have no money, but I am always ready to sell " my pots and pans for your Majesty's service; " though as to the Ameen-ed-dowlah, I have no " doubt, between himself and the merchants, and " melon growers at Isfahaun, your application to " him will not be in vain." The Shah laughed very heartily, and turning to me, said;—" there, " you hear what Baba says. I cannot take his " pots and pans away from him, because he he " got a little Prince† to feed, who will abuse the " Meerza most bitterly if he does not get his

* Father.

† There was more fun and sarcasm in this, than the reader can be aware of, without some little explanation. Some time before, in private conversation between the King and his Minister, the latter, by way of pleasing the former, complimented him on his numerous progeny; and, unfortunately for himself, lamented that he had none. " Gad so," said the Shah, " if that is the case, I " will do the kindest thing in the world by you; one of my ladies " was brought to bed last night of a Prince, and as soon as he is fit

" dinner; and as to the merchants and melon
" growers at Isfahaun, I know there is but one
" being that they fear more to see amongst them
" than the Ameen-ed-dowlah; so you see, Mr.
" Ambassador, the thing is impossible."

" Not quite so much so as your Majesty sup-
" poses, for I have a scheme to propose which
" will save the Meerza's pots and pans, and pre-
" vent the merchants and melon growers at Isfa-
" haun from being terrified by the appearance
" amongst them of the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and
" which I therefore hope your Majesty and the
" Meerza will think a reasonable one. Whether
" I am to have the honor to remain at your Ma-

" to move, I will send him to you, with nurses, and eunuchs, and
" other requisites of a proper establishment; and you shall adopt
" him and bring him up; and so you will have a child without any
" trouble." In a little time afterwards, to the poor Meerza's great
" confusion, all that was promised arrived. This urchin was now
about six years old, and the trouble he gave the old man, and the
expense he put him to, was vexatious, and this the Shah knew
well. As an instance, I happened one morning at Teheran to
call to see the Meerza before he went to Court. It was very
early, and I was shewn into an apartment near the harem, very
richly furnished; but to my great astonishment, all the costly bro-
cade cushions and mattrasses, covered with Cashmere shawl, were
slashed as if with a knife, in different places. Shortly after, the
Meerza made his appearance, and as soon as we had sat down, he
said with a great sigh, " See what pretty work my princely son made
" here last night, because I refused to purchase some very costly
" jewels for his mother. God bless your country, where no man is
" obliged to maintain a child whom he does not beget."— " Do not
" be too sure of that, Meerza," said I, " though you may be sure the
" King of England never sends his sons or daughters to his Mi-
" nisters to be maintained and brought up.

"jesty's Court, or whether my Sovereign will "think proper to recall me, I cannot at present "tell; but in either case, it will certainly make no "difference in the purpose to which the stipulated "assistance will be directed to be applied; I there- "fore think myself fully justified in asking your "Majesty to consent to advance such part of this "to the Prince Royal as he may from time to time "find it necessary to call for. As long as I am "here, I will take care to see that what is called for "is fairly expended, and that no more is called for "at any time than is really wanting. At the same "time I must say that, from the conversation I "have had with Meerza Bozurg respecting the "Prince's revenues and expenses, and from the "declaration of poverty which your Majesty has "been pleased to make, I must now ask for an "advance of the first year's assistance to be given "to the Prince by two instalments; one immediate, "the other to be paid at the end of the campaign, "unless circumstances should arise to make it in- "dispensibly necessary to ask for an earlier payment "of the last." The King looked extremely sur- prised, and it seemed to me as if all his gaiety forsook him at once. He evidently was waiting for Meerza Sheffee to start some objection to the plan; but whether the Meerza had not recovered the allusion to the reason why he should keep his pots and pans, or whether he was determined to keep his word with myself and Meerza Bozurg,

he at all events kept silence. The Shah then very gravely and formally said "*Vizier-e-azem*," (*i. e.* Grand Vizier) why do not you speak? Being thus addressed, the Meerza said:—"Please your Majesty, although the assistance alluded to by the "English Ambassador is to be given to your "Majesty, it is nevertheless designed for a particular purpose, and of that purpose the English "are to judge; and although that assistance "neither has nor could have as yet arrived, there "is no doubt that it will arrive; and I am sure "your Majesty is too noble to wish to appropriate "the smallest part of it to any other purpose than "that which it was intended for; and therefore I "do think that this would be a good opportunity "to shew the King of England in what light you "view the assistance, and what use you mean to "make of it; besides, I must say, that from a conversation which passed between myself, Meerza "Bozurg, and the Ambassador, a few nights ago, "it is clear that the Prince must have assistance." The Shah then turned rather abruptly to me, and said:—"*Murrakus*," (*i. e.* you have leave); and just as I was going from under the fly of the tent, he called out, "you shall hear from me again." The reader will probably think, as I did at the time, that Meerza Sheffee had fairly redeemed the promise he had made in Meerza Bozurg's tent.

From the King I went to Meerza Bozurg's tent,

—his servant told me that he was with the Prince, and employed in auditing and settling accounts; but that his master had left word, that if I came, he should be informed. I was on my way towards the Prince's tent, when a person came up to me in haste, and told me, that Meerza Sheffee, who was just behind, wished to speak to me. I looked back, and saw the Meerza, mounted on a mule, and accompanied by a numerous *cortège*, which was by no means very usual in the camp. When he came up to me, he said:—"I am going, by the "Shah's order, to the Prince's tent; but you must "turn back and get to your tent as soon as you "can, for there is one of the Meerzas of the court "sent to you, with a message from the king."— "Have we got the money for the Prince?" said I. "We have, and I am going to His Royal Highness "with the intelligence of the Shah's resolution."

I reached my tent just in time to receive the Meerza, whose message, though on the whole, satisfactory, was a little comical in some particulars: which were,—that if the treaty was not ratified, I should engage to be answerable for the advance of assistance which the Shah was about to make. Having satisfied the Meerza on this point, and gone through the ceremonies of the visit, I was left by myself. From my tent I saw Meerza Sheffee returning, and as he appeared to be pointing his course towards my tent, I went out to meet him;—when we met, he said, "I in-

" tended to pay you a visit, but I am in a hurry " to get back to the Shah, therefore I can only " stop to ask you if you will come and sup with " me to-night, and meet Meerza Bozurg, whom I " have just left with the Prince, in high spirits. " The Prince wishes much to see you, and I think " you had better go to him, as he purposes to leave " camp to-morrow." I went immediately, with only one servant, and on foot, towards the Prince Royal's tent, where I found orders had been given to admit me to the Prince's presence as soon as I arrived.

I found the Prince and Meerza Bozurg up to their waists in papers,*—the Meerza came towards me as soon as I entered the tent, and said:—" the " Prince not only wishes to thank you before he " leaves the camp, but to tell you, in general terms, " what he means to do." As soon as I had sat down, the Prince said:—" You have done me a " service I never can forget; nor can I tell you " how much I feel obliged by your consenting to " take up your residence, during the winter, at " Tauris, where every thing in my power shall be " done to make it as comfortable to you as possible, " though you must not expect much quiet, for I " shall send for you on all emergencies. Meerza " Bozurg will take leave of the Shah in two or " three days more, and you will then accompany

* The reader will please to remember both these personages were seated on their heels on the ground.

" him to Tauris, when he will acquaint you and " the gentlemen with what has been done, what is " doing, and what is wished to be done." The Prince then entered into a detail of many designs and plans, which appeared to me, on the whole, to be very judicious. I said:—" Your Royal " Highness will give me leave to tell you one " thing, which, perhaps, Meerza Sheffee's modesty " did not allow him to do—which is, that he gave " me the most effectual assistance, in my inter- " view with the King, and from the manner in " which he spoke, I must think that he has your " Royal Highness's interest greatly at heart."—" I " know no reason why he should not," said the Prince; " he is dreadfully afraid of Mohammed " Ally Meerza, and therefore, whatever Moham- " med* asks him to do, he never refuses; he is a " very able Minister, greatly attached to the Shah, " who, he says, saved his life more than once, in my " great uncle's time:—the Shah has great confidence " in him, and the Meerza can do just as he likes " with the Shah. He is apt to be sly, but I really " believe he will now act cordially with us, for he " speaks very well of you." After some farther civilities, I left the Prince, and early the next morning he commenced his march.

On our way to the Chemen Oujan, we had halted at a little village by the way-side, called

* I never heard the Prince, when speaking of Mohammed Ally Meerza, call him Brother.

Tikmedash, and I cannot now exactly recollect what it was that detained me there the next day. The situation of the village is on the bank of a ravine, at the bottom of which runs a little stream of pure water, the current of which has probably formed the ravine itself. Our tents were pitched on one bank of the ravine, and the village stood on the other, and some of my best horses were stabled in the village, which induced me to make a visit to it the next morning. I was extremely pleased with the manner in which the villagers received me; and at the invitation of the Khedkhodah, I went to drink coffee with him. When in England, I had been a dabbler in farming—and there was then one (alas! now no more!) who took as much delight, and was better versed in the mysteries of it, than myself, so that the concern was always going on whilst I was out of the country. I had held an opinion that one of the greatest improvements of which Persia was susceptible, was in her agriculture, and in consequence thereof, whenever I had an opportunity of conversing with the villagers on this subject, I never failed to avail myself of it.

I found the Khedkhodah of Tikmedash extremely intelligent; and, what was more, I discovered that the land belonging to the village was precisely of the very nature and description on which one would wish to commence a series of experimental improvements. It consisted of con-

siderable pasturages, and excellent tillage, with a very tolerable command of water. When I came to question my friend as to the number of his stock, I found, that considering the extent of his land, it turned out to be "a beggarly account of "empty boxes," and on seeking the reason for this, it appeared to be just what I guessed, that is—the difficulty of wintering the cattle. He was well aware of the benefit tillage-land receives from manure, and what something surprised me, he was well aware of the benefit grass-land received from irrigation.* He understood too the advantage which might be derived from enclosures and judicious plantations: "for," said he, "we are blown "away in winter and spring, and burnt up in "summer." I learnt from him, also, that the stock of hay he could depend on, was but small, from the difficulty of preventing trespasses of various sorts, on the grass, and that the chief, or nearly the sole dependence for winter fodder, was on straw. The land, he told me, was cultivated by thirds,† which is a very customary manner in

* No people understand the benefit which irrigation confers, better than the Persians; but then it is confined to seeds, at least as far as I had yet observed; but there was near this village a little patch of delightful turf, over which the water, after passing through the village, trickled, and this probably made my honest Khedkhodah aware of what good water would do on good grass land.

† Two thirds, proprietors; one third, cultivators. The division is made after the demands of Government, and the seed requisite for the next year, are deducted.

Persia and Arabia; and, all things considered, I did not see that there were any very serious permanent evils, though many occasional ones, which my friends, the villagers, had to complain of. The dwelling of the Khedkhodah was certainly not what an English farmer, renting £1000, or £600, would have been contented with, but according to Persian notions, it was comfortable, and there seemed to be (as I found afterwards to be actually the case) no want of many good things, and even luxuries, inside of the house.

As brother farmers, the Khedkhodah and myself soon became very intimate, and I asked him, if I were to put him in a way to winter his stock, to what number beyond the present, he thought he could increase it. His answer was very satisfactory:—"Indeed, I can hardly imagine; be-"cause I should have so much more straw, so "much more manure, that I cannot tell what I "could do."—"Do you think, if you raised ten "times more straw, you could keep ten times "more cattle?"—"Pretty near it."—"Do you "think, if one half of the winter keep of your "beasts was made to arise from something else "than straw, that you could then increase your "present stock of cattle ten-fold?"—"No doubt."—"What is the return of seed your land makes "at present?"—"On the average, manure and no "manure, about twenty."—"Why do not you ma-"nure the whole?"—"Because we can neither

" make it, nor obtain it in any other way."—" What do you think the land would yield, if well " manured?"—" I cannot tell, but I should think " more than double."—" How much land can you " plough in a day?"—" By sticking at it well, " about (mentioning a measure) a third of an " acre."—" Do you think, if such improvements " were made in your present husbandry imple- " ments, as would enable you to do double the " quantity of work in the same quantity of time, " would it be an advantage to you?"—The honest fellow laughed heartily, and said, " Can you ask " that question seriously?"—" Do you think any " improvement could be made in the size of your " stock?"—" There might; if we could keep them " better in winter, they would grow bigger."

I spent the greater part of the day in walking with my honest friend, over the land about the village. He seemed to understand and admire, to a certain degree, every account I gave him, of the systems of farming pursued in England; but nothing pleased him more than the account I gave him, (though an imperfect one) of the thrashing machine. I really parted from this man with some regret; and I could have been very well contented, had I had nothing else to do, to have remained at Tikmedash, and witnessed the agricultural proceedings of the village. On our parting, I told my friend, if I remained any time in the King's camp, I would pay him frequent visits;

and he said, "If you are in this country next "spring, you shall be most heartily welcome to "soil your horses here."

I have troubled the reader with all this, because he will find, by and by, it will be alluded to, in a conversation between Meerza Bozurg and myself, on the different branches of improvement of which the Persian Empire is susceptible. During my residence in the King's camp, I kept my promise to my friends at Tikmedash; and each time that I visited them, they rose in my good opinion, and my regard for them increased.

In the evening of the day on which the Prince marched from the royal camp, the Shah sent for me to attend him. He received me most kindly; and, after asking me if I had seen the Prince before his departure, he told me, he had now sent for me, because he thought I might imagine he was displeased with me for what I had said the other day—which, he assured me, he was not. I told him, his displeasure would, at any and all times, be a matter of great concern to me; and I hoped, I should never incur it; but I had no suspicion that, in telling him the truth, and that truth for his benefit, I was ever likely to be so unfortunate. He then asked me a variety of questions about the face of the country, the Government, the buildings, &c. in England,—puzzled himself exceedingly with the different powers of the King and the Company, as to India,—wondered how the

King let the Company have an army,—and wondered still more, that the King could not do just as he pleased with the whole revenue of his kingdom. Finding that I had been in America, he asked me a great many droll questions about that country, of which, the public have already been told, the Persians have very absurd ideas. Notwithstanding the *oddity*—and, perhaps, what other people might choose to call the *absurdity*—of these questions, it was most evident to me, that the Shah possessed not only a very strong, but a very amiable mind; and the remarks which he made, and the inferences he drew from time to time, manifested very considerable powers of reflection. He said: "I can easily conceive how a "country, under such regulations as you state "England to be, may do all that you say; but I "have no idea, if I was to attempt to-morrow to "introduce such things here, how we should all "live, or how there would be any government at "all. Supposing I was to call a Parliament at "Tæheran, and deliver up to it the whole power of "taxation, I should then never get a penny—for no "Persian parts with money, unless he is obliged "to do it; and more than that, the Khans* would "be for making the buckalls pay all, and the "buckalls would be for doing the same thing by "the Khans. It must take a long time to make "such a Government, and such a people, as yours.

* The Khans are the lords, the Buckalls are the burgesses.

" Our Government is simple, and the people know " all about it in a day. Our laws are much simpler " than yours,—and so far they are better; and I " know by experience, that, under these laws, and " under this Government, Persia has improved " very much since I came to the throne." The Shah then spoke in very high terms of the Prince Royal,—how extremely desirous he was to obtain every sort of information; and said, with much good humour, " If I give you leave to remain at " Tauris during the winter, he will plague you " with questions more than I do." I passed nearly two hours with His Majesty, and came away delighted with my reception, and his affability. At parting, he said: " You will not make a very long " stay in Tauris now, but return to camp as soon " as you and Meerza Bozurg have finished your " business."

In two or three days afterwards, Meerza Bozurg and I set out for Tauris, which was little more than twenty miles distant from the camp. Nothing could be more simple than the manner in which the Meerza travelled. He rode a mule, the trappings of which were perfectly *à la derveishe*. He had a servant, who carried a cloak-bag, and his calean. He had a groom, who led a sumpter mule, that carried some articles of refreshment, and common small carpets; and he had his own favorite personal servant, who was at once his secretary, his amanuensis, and humble friend. The Meerza's

conversation on the road was delightful; it was a constant effusion of portions of history, anecdote, and recital of beautiful poetry, much of which was from the poems of his late uncle, Meerza Hossein. The country we passed through fully justified a recollection of those lines of Shakspeare, in the second part of *Henry the Fourth*:—

> " I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire;
> " These high wild hills, and rough, uneven ways,
> " Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome;
> " And yet your fair discourse has been as sugar,
> " Making the hard way sweet and delectable."

About two o'clock we reached the village of Bosmeech, at the end of which there is a little grove of Lombardy poplars, along one side of which, or rather at the foot of it, a beautiful little stream of the purest water passes. Here the Meerza said, " What say you to dismounting and " resting ourselves and our beasts under the plea- " sant shade of these trees?" It was so agreed, and after pitching on a beautiful spot for spreading the carpets, there appeared in a very short time, from the Meerza's sumpter-mule, a nice cold collation, consisting of partridge, excellent cheese, fruit, fine bread, and water-cresses gathered fresh on the spot, and added to this, I must say the Meerza's coffee, and the tobacco of his calean, were exquisite. There was a degree of devotion in the Meerza's grace before he began to eat, and an expression of thankfulness and thanksgiving in

that which he uttered after, that were particularly striking, and to me, who knew him so well, I may say affecting; and it was in perfect keeping with this, that whilst we were smoking our caleans, he began to say how little he wanted in this world, and how much he thanked God for having *taken from his eyes* all love of wealth; to which circumstance alone he ascribed his having been able safely to weather all the dreadful political storms he had met with. When we had finished our caleans, he stretched himself out at his length on the carpet, and fell fast asleep. I do not envy the man who could contemplate such a spectacle as this with indifference. Here was a great Minister of a great Empire, who could command

> "The perfum'd chambers of the great,
> "—The canopies of costly state,
> "—With sounds of sweetest melody,
> "—And all appliances and means to boot,"

sleeping, and sleeping soundly, with just the same "appliances" that were enjoyed by the commonest servant of our train. It was not long after my friend had fallen asleep, that the villagers of Bosmeech, having heard where the *Great Man* was, came out in a body to compliment him, and to beseech him to honor the village with his presence. I acquainted the principal person of the procession, that the Meerza was asleep, and they immediately postponed their visit till the evening was farther advanced, and the Meerza awoke.

When this happened, it was the time for the Prayer of Asser, and I was rather surprised to see his servant lay for him one of the most beautiful prayer carpets I ever saw in my life. The Meerza saw I looked rather astonished, and he said, "this "is the only luxury I indulge in; this carpet is "spread before God. It is perfectly *halaul*,* "for it is purchased with money earned by my "own hands."

The Meerza having prepared himself by the necessary ablutions, put himself in the front of his three servants, and performed the evening prayer; this finished, I told him that the people of the village had been to pay him a visit: "I am sorry for "it," replied he, "I had hoped to have escaped them. "I have more trouble with Bosmeech, than all the "rest of Azarbaijan. The greater part of the land "about the village is *wakef*, and the Peesh-namaz "at Tauris is the procurator of it; he is a true "moollah, ignorant of the affairs of the world, sus- "picious, and greedy; he thinks he never gets from "the villagers as much as he ought, and they think, "in return, he gets more than his due; he tells them "they will go to the devil for cheating him, and "they tell him he will go there for extortion;" and then smiling, the Meerza said, "there may be "some truth on both sides." He had scarcely

* Meats and other things, according to the Mohammedan religion, are divided into *Halaul* and *Haram*, (*i. e.* lawful, and forbidden.)

finished this speech, before the villagers arrived with their Khedkhodah, who was a moollah and cadi, at their head. It turned out just as the Meerza predicted:—half a dozen persons entered on half a dozen different stories of grievance at once,—but the Meerza stopped them by saying,—"My good friends, you know how ready I am to "hear you all at proper times, but the present is "an extremely improper one, for there stands the "English Ambassador, and we must not entertain "him with squabbles about barley and water me-"lons;" and then turning to the moollah's son, a boy about ten years old, who imitated his father's priestly consequence, and who had a large clerical turban on his head, he said,—"Come, Ismael, let "me see what advance you have made in your "studies?"—The Meerza then repeated an *aiyet*, or *verset*, of the Koran, which he told the boy to interpret and explain; the boy bungled exceedingly:—"this will never do," said the Meerza, "you will never be a cadi at this rate." He then told another child to bring him his writing; the Meerza looked at it, and said,—"You are a very "good boy, you shall go into the Prince's service "in the Defter-Khoneh in another year."* I observed this boy to pass in amongst his playfellows with that kind of air and countenance which plainly said,—"there, my brave boys, do you hear what

* *Defter Khoneh.* Literally, House of Books; but is generally applied to the revenue, or accompt office.

" the great Meerza has said to me?" The Meerza made all the grown persons sit down, gave them coffee, spoke something kind or jocular to every one of them; and when we mounted, they all crowded round the Meerza's mule, and accompanied him for the distance of a mile, and only left him at his request.

Between the camp and Bosmeech, we passed over ground which some years before had been rent by a succession of earthquakes in the most extraordinary manner; and on the left hand of the road, I was shewn a mountain, riven at that time from top to bottom. This dreadful calamity took place in the year 1724, and cost Tauris or Tabreze the lives of 100,000 of its inhabitants. As we approached the city, towards the close of the evening, we were met by a prodigious concourse of people, who all seemed delighted to see Meerza Bozurg, and at some distance forward on the road, we perceived a little party, which had made a halt by the side of it, which, as soon as the Meerza saw, he said to me:—" Well, the women have " sent Mousa out to meet you; this is more than " I thought they would." When we came nearly opposite to the little party, we stopped; they came forward, and the little boy having been assisted to dismount from his horse, ran towards his father, who called out to him,—" Mousa, remember there " is a stranger here who is very dear to me;" on which, the child came up to me, and said very

gravely, and as loud as his infantine voice would permit, "*Salam aleikoum.*" I got off my horse, and caressed him, and he then said:—"I have "been with my *lala*," (*i. e.* my tutor,) "all day at "your house, getting it ready for you, and your "dinner will be ready for you as soon as you get "there. I must go now and talk to baba." Mousa was then just eight years old, and a more lovely pleasing child I never saw. At this early age, the children of Persian noblemen are dressed like men in miniature. Mousa had his little sabre, his high boots, and except pistols and carabine, all the other paraphernalia of a Persian Khan when travelling. The Meerza's eyes were suffused with tears, as he received his child on his return from me, and for the remainder of the journey, he was the person amongst us all most thought of and most attended to.

The Meerza was so good as to accompany me to the house which had been prepared for me, where I found every thing little Mousa had said, most exactly fulfilled; and shortly after reaching it, a dinner was served up, to which the greatest voluptuary in London might have sat down with pleasure. The dinner was sent in the name of Mousa's mother, and the *Nazir*, or steward of her household, who accompanied it, brought me, at the same time, a present of a handkerchief, beautifully embroidered, and a message importing:—"that both the Meerza and herself were derveishes,

" and therefore not able to send me such dinners " as I had formerly received at Schyras, from their " uncle and aunt; but that I should do them a " pleasure to accept it such as it was."

Early the next morning I had a visit from Mousa and his Lala, and the little boy said: "I am come, " Sir, to ask how you slept last night, whether you " want anything, and to tell you, that as soon as " as my father has dismissed some people who are " come on business to him, he is coming to see " you: in the meantime he has sent you breakfast, " and me to breakfast with you:—besides which (said he joyously) Lala has given me a holiday, " and I am to walk with you and my father to the " citadel." About midday the Meerza honored me with a visit, and we afterwards proceeded together to the *Ark* or citadel, to view different military establishments and *karkhanas* (*i. e.* work-shops) the Prince had set on foot. To a person whose head was only capable of judging of these by comparing them with the same sort of things in his own country, they, most likely, would have appeared very poor, and perhaps ludicrous, and have afforded another opportunity to let off some of that species of wit against Persia and the Persians, which has been already so amply exercised with considerable profit, as I am told, to the performers. To me, however, who had pondered on the Prince Royal's means (in the broadest sense of the word) who knew the short, very short time,

in which all I saw before me was done, the sight of these things presented the germs of political strength and science, which I rejoiced to behold, and furnished the most indisputable evidence, how assiduously the French gentlemen placed about the Prince had fulfilled the instructions they had received. I spoke to Meerza Bozurg as I felt, of what I saw, and he replied, "Ah, now we have got "you here, we will do much more than this." In the course of our examining the citadel, we entered a room, in which the young men whom the French gentlemen had undertaken to instruct in geometry, gunnery, &c., were sitting pursuing their studies. Whilst there, their *chaust* or dinner was brought in:—a Persian chaust generally consists of little more than bread, fruit, cheese, butter, some leaves of savoury and other herbs, water-cresses, and the tops of small onions, to which if a skewer of kabob be added, the meal is complete: the beverage commonly used is the *palaudeh*, a species of sherbet, in which little balls of paste about the size of buck-shot, of a delicious flavor, are swimming; the whole cooled by a large lump of ice, which floats in the middle of the bowl. "Come," said the Meerza, "let us sit down and take our dinner with these "young men, for you will have no other dinner "to-day; and as for supper, it will be prepared "for you in my cell at home." We did so, and it was heart-cheering to see the delight and surprise which shone in the countenances of the tyros at

receiving so great and unexpected an honor from Meerza Bozurg. They instantly rose, and put themselves in a posture of the greatest respect,— "*Bensheen bismillah,*" (sit down in the name of God) said the Meerza, which last is the Persian grace, and we all fell heartily to.

Having remained busied in the Ark about three hours, the Meerza said: "I must not now keep "you here longer, because the principal persons "of the city are coming to visit you, and you must "be at home to receive them."—I said, "I hope "not, for I have neither servants nor anything "wherewith to receive them properly."—"You "will find it all ready," replied the Meerza, "when "you go home, I have given orders about it:"— and so he had most effectually. To my surprise I was visited by the great dignitaries of the Church and the law, men who are generally pretty stiff-necked in matters of this sort, and therefore, I am quite sure, I owed their complaisance towards me to the exhortations of my excellent friend. The comparative truth of Ptolomeyan and Copernican systems is a never-ending as well as a safe and innocent topic of conversation with these gentlemen: but they resist all light on the subject, pretty much on the same principle that the Pope and the monks resisted the light of Galileo.—"What you say can-"not be true, because the Koran says, the earth "stands still and the sun moves round it,—and "the Koran is at least the Word of God." I had

the pleasure of receiving several most intelligent merchants, who had known me at Bagdad, and to some of whom I had been serviceable in their affairs there.—From these gentlemen I afterwards obtained much valuable information on the commerce of the province, and the great, important, and various improvements, of which it was susceptible.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, the personal servant, already mentioned, of Meerza Bozurg, came to conduct me to his master; and after threading some very narrow and intricate lanes, we entered, by a very low gate, into a little crooked sort of open passage, at the end of which there was a very bad staircase placed against the side of a wall, pretty much like a staircase to a granary in some of our farm-yards; at the top of which there was a little landing-place covered over, which served for a *kefsh-ken*, or a place to take off the shoes. On one side of this was a very strong door, which opened into a room, the size of which, at the very utmost, was eight feet square, and which was nearly filled with a prodigious quantity of loose papers. At the one end of this (literally) cell, the Meerza was seated, and by him a great Khajar nobleman of the first rank. As soon as I put my foot into the room, the Meerza rose and came towards me with the *Salam Aliekoom*, the heartiest greeting a Mohammedan can give a Christian, and led me by the

hand to a seat close to him. The nobleman, as I sat down, nodded his head; and as this is the way in Persia which a person, greatly superior, receives a person very much inferior, all the notice I took of him, was to nod my head in return. He very shortly left us. "That man," said the Meerza, "asked me as a favor, to let him stay "here till you came. I always knew he was a "*Bear*, but if I could have imagined him to be "as true *an Ouzbeg** as he has proved himself, I "would have turned him out of doors before you "came. He is the greatest plague I have. He "is really a man of some consequence; but he "fancies himself to be of ten times more than he "really is; he continually pesters me with what "great offers the Russians have made him, and "therefore what a right he has to expect the "highest marks of the Shah's favor. For my "part, I do think his fidelity to his country at "this moment doubtful, and he, probably before "it is long, will do something which will oblige "me to advise His Majesty to have him in *sur-*"*veillance*, that is, to insist on his constant at-"tendance at court."

Until supper was brought in, we talked of old times at Schyras. The Meerza, with tears running down his face, spoke of his late royal master's son, Khosrow, and of the trouble he had had to make

* The *Ouzbegs* are proverbial amongst the Persians for bad manners.

him accommodate and conform himself to the cruel circumstances of his fate. He said Khosrow was a Prince of a most royal spirit, and of undaunted courage; and that he, the Meerza, was for some time, as the Prince grew up, under constant apprehension of hearing that something disagreeable had happened, but that latterly he had succeeded in giving him a religious turn, which, said the Meerza, "if it cannot remedy, will at least teach "him to bear his misfortunes with resignation and "patience." Our supper finished—the Meerza then said:—"I have been extremely anxious to "have you here a little time to myself, that we "might talk over the many and important things "I have to say to you, without that interruption "which we should have been subject to in the "camp; and before you came to take up your "winter-quarters with the Prince.

"I shall first of all read over to you our latest "correspondence with Turkey, the whole of which "is committed to me. From this you will per- "ceive that the Porte, although she has not re- "fused, has not yet consented to send a Minister "to Tæheran; though I do not doubt but through "your means with Mr. Adair, she will speedily "resolve to do so; for it is one of the things I "have greatly at heart, to keep up the best under- "standing between the Shah and the Grand "Signor. But that on which to-night I princi- "pally wish to converse, are three great projects,

" I have in my head, none of which can be entered " on properly, or can be expected to be executed, " without the assistance of yourself and your Go- " vernment. Things here are now in a state that " the Prince Royal, myself, and yourself, can do any " thing with the Shah, who is a most excellent " person, and adorned with great qualities and " abilities. Nothing could be more fortunate than " your comical adventure with Meerza Sheffee; " and that which would have made him the most " bitter enemy to any one else, who had treated " him as you did, has had (it is very curious) the " effect of sincerely attaching him to you. I be- " lieve I may attribute this much to the King " having told him, when he wanted to make a " state affair of it, that he was in the wrong, and " that he got no more than he deserved; and, " in the next, the little hesitation he sees you " make, in telling the Shah all you think, and that " he is afraid lest at some time or other, on being " consulted, you may say something which may " injure him in his master's opinion; for I know, " more than once the Shah has said to him :—' I " will ask the Fringee about that.' Be all this as " it may, he is heart and soul with us, and either " from love or fear, it does not signify which, he " will not thwart any thing you propose."

" Now nothing has proved more disadvanta- " geous to this empire, than the policy it has " observed towards the Armenians, from the fall

" of the Sheffee family to the present moment.
" The wisest of that race, culpable as he was in
" many other respects, saw their consequence to
" the state, and cherished them as a man does a
" hive of honey bees, and he contrived to get the
" honey without destroying the insects; but the
" monarchs who succeeded him, cared not what
" became of the bees, provided they got the honey:
" —the honey was soon exhausted—and the work-
" ing bees all either fled away or were killed,
" leaving with us nothing but the drones. O my
" friend! we owe more than half our misfortunes
" with Russia to these people; but then the folly
" and cruelty, not of the Shah, for he is well in-
" clined towards them, but of our frontier pro-
" vincial Governments, have forced them to emi-
" grate, and forcing them to emigrate, they have
" become the subjects of our enemy. The old
" Armenians would have borne almost any thing
" rather than have quitted Isfahaun—it was their
" paradise;—the present Armenians, I am certain,
" under the circumstances I am about to mention
" to you, would return to it in shoals. The treaty
" you have just signed, gives yourself and your
" Government a right to interfere in every thing
" which promotes the strength of the empire.
" Persia, most willingly, I may almost say thank-
" fully, admits it. That which I wish of you is,
" that you would draw up an *Ahud Nameh*, (*i. e.*
" charter for the Armenians) and prevail on your

" King to send it here, with a recommendation " that we should consider it, and accept it; but, " to produce all the good I expect, it must contain " one vital article;—that is, that the privileges " granted to the Armenians, under this charter, " should be placed under the guardianship of the " English Ambassador at Tæheran; and that, be- " sides this the Shah should declare him to be the " head and protector of every sect of Christians in " Persia. You are fully acquainted with all the " privileges granted them by the patent of Shah " Abbas the Great; some of these may be confirmed " as they stand, others will require to be liberally " extended. What has a difference in faith to do " with preventing that which is for the public " good? If Persia had acted on this principle, " what business have your excellent and valuable " subjects in India, the Parsees, out of their own " country, or thousands of industrious Armenians, " to be, at this moment, exiles in Russia.

" You must be aware how little, as a Persian, I " like the Russians. I see them, in their com- " merce in the northern part of this empire, " enriching themselves, and beggaring us. I wish " to put a stop to this before it is too late. With " the assistance of England and Turkey, this may " be done; but we are not able to effect it of " ourselves. Make (as you can) the Black Sea to " us, what the Caspian is at present. Upon the " importation of goods and merchandize by that

" route, you shall have the lowest tariff of customs " you can possibly wish. In a short time, our " commerce with Russia will not only beggar us, " but she will rob and bully us into the bargain. " You have been a merchant,—you have had large " dealings in Persia,—you know I am talking " sense.—I want England to have the whole Eu- " ropean, as well as Indian, trade of this empire. " I want her to be to us, what the case of this " inkstand is to the inkstand itself;"*—and he struck the one into the other, with great violence.

" You must also have observed the miserable " state of our cultivators,—the imperfect security " our landed proprietors possess for their property. " This must be put an end to. The wretched " system of killing the goose for her eggs, must " no longer be permitted to exist. The reform " must begin with the royal domains. It is a joke " to talk about property where there is no secu- " rity; and the real strength of the kingdom does " not lie in a parcel of Moollahs, Taujers, and

* The inkstand which the Meerzas carry about with them, are made of papier-maché beautifully painted,—they are in two parts, one shutting into the other; one is the case, the other a sort of little tray, in which at one end is placed the ink; and then the pens, a pen-knife, and a bit of ivory, for nipping the pens upon, and a lump of gum, for fastening the letter, are laid lengthwise. The great Ministers never wear these inkstands in their girdles, but large rolls of either state papers, or blank papers.

" Buckalls;* but in the Beeldars (*i. e.* the pea-
" santry)."

The Meerza had now worked himself into a strong fit of enthusiasm, and said: "Sir! with " good management, the produce, and conse- " quently the revenue, of Persia, may be cen- " tupled; and this you know better than any man " living. Will you assist?"

I said, "my dear Meerza, I fear your Church." —"Church, Sir! do not talk to me of my Church, " there is nobody respects it more than I do; I " always listen with apparent submission and " respect to all which the ministers of it represent " to me, but I know the exact value of their ad- " vice, and I never suffer it to turn me aside from " undertaking any act I think for the public good; " but I am not going to turn Christian; both " your book, and my book, are in their essence " the same:—they both say, *fear and love God,* " *be honest, be charitable, be just.*—The Koran, " fairly and literally interpreted, will answer all " the purposes we have in hand, as well as the " Gospel. Your conversation with the people of " Tikmedash has been reported to me. I am " delighted with it; you and I will take that dis- " trict in hand together; example in Persia will " do every thing; we do not see a man make " a whistle here, without trying to imitate the

* Priests, merchants, and shopkeepers.

" whistle. If you and I can get a bigger cow, " better sheep, more corn, more grass, than at " present, we shall have plenty of people wanting " and wishing to do the same—the Persians are " not fools—though the nature of our Govern- " ment sometimes makes them rogues—will you " assist? will you assist, my friend?"

" My dear Meerza, I am lost in wonder at the " magnitude and the justice of your conceptions, " though knowing you so long and so well as I do " they ought not to surprise me; but it will require " years to execute them, and it is very probable my " residence in Persia will be limited to a few months " —at all events you can open these magnificent " and virtuous projects to my successor,—but " I give you my word, if unexpectedly I am con- " tinued in Persia, I will embark with you in all " your projects, as far as is consistent with my " duties and character of British Minister, pro- " vided I receive no orders from my own govern- " ment to the contrary."—" *If you should receive* " *such orders*," said the Meerza, " *if England* " *does not act as a kind nurse to Persia, and* " *if Persia does not make a grateful return* " *to her foster-mother, we have been deceiving* " *ourselves sadly, and you have suffered severely* " *for no purpose!*"

Here the morning broke, and the Meerza arose to his morning prayer, and I to return home. I will now make a confession which has never before

passed my lips, nor dropped from my pen; I regret, from my soul, that I requested my wish to return home from Persia should be laid before my sovereign. Reader, do not think me mad;—it seems strange to me at this day, and it will seem strange to me till my dying day, that humble as I am, I should twice in my life have been on the verge of being one of the instruments, under God, of effecting great changes in the condition of the Persian empire. Had I been acquainted with the whole of Meerza Bozurg's great views before I tendered my resignation, no earthly power or consideration should have made me do it; for as it regarded Meerza Bozurg alone, after our long, uninterrupted, and I will add, affectionate friendship, it would have been an act,

> ——— quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes
> Nec poterit ferrum."

should have prevailed on me to commit.*

It will easily be imagined that the three texts of Meerza Bozurg produced from us both very ample commentaries, and furnished us with sufficient matter for conversation and reflection during the remainder of the time we staid together at Tauris.

Shortly after my return to the royal camp, the Shah sent for me, and in joke said, "what have "you and your old friend been hatching at

* Under the head of Baron Wrede, the reader will find matter enough to convince him what was the nature of the communications which passed between Meerza Bozurg and myself.

" Tauris; I dare say you did nothing but criticise " the Shah and Meerza Sheffee all day long." I said, " I assure your Majesty I always speak more " favorably of Meerza Sheffee to others, and when " I am away from him, than I do to himself." The old man replied with great vivacity:—" By the " King's life the Ambassador speaks truth, for he " often talks to me very roughly." The Shah was extremely pleased with the account I gave him of what I had seen at Tauris, and said, " *Abbas merd* " *est*," (Abbas is a man.)

A few days before the camp broke up to return to Tæheran, I took up my abode at Tikmedash, in order from this place to meet the Shah on his first day's march home, and to have my audience of leave; to this I was advised by Meerza Sheffee, who told me the Shah would take my so doing as a compliment to him. To make myself quite at home with the excellent villagers, I carried with me no tent, but literally became one of the family of the Kedkhodah, lodged in his house, eating of his meat and drinking of his cup, wherefore our good understanding mightily increased; and I could call all the little boys and girls of the village by their several names, so that when I went out with my gun, I had a whole village always following me, and enjoying the sport as much as I did myself.

The Shah's first *munzil*, or halt, from Oujoon, was about three miles beyond Tikmedash; and, to

my great delight, two days before it commenced, there came a Firman addressed to the Kedkhodah, absolving the village from all contribution of grain, provender, &c., which was collected for the Shah's use and consumption at his halt; and expressly stating that this immunity was granted because the English Ambassador was residing there, and that he might be amply supplied with all he wanted. There was no compliment which I received in Persia which I felt more sensibly than this; and as to my villagers, (as they already called themselves) I thought they would have lost their senses with delight. We had a large bonfire by the side of the village at night, and the women were exercising their lungs with the accustomed cry of joy, as if something the most extraordinary and fortunate had happened.

It was the latter end of October when the Shah commenced his march from Oujoon; the weather had become not only cool, but cold, and we had once or twice before very smart showers of cold rain. His Majesty had been prevented by some business, or something or other, setting out from Oujoon at the hour which had been notified to me; and the consequence therefore was, that I had to wait by the road-side near two hours. The etiquette observed on the occasion of an audience on horseback is—that the person who is to be honored with it stands mounted at about half-a-mile distance, on one side of the Shah's line of

march; if a person of great importance, on the right; if of inferior, on the left. As the Minister of my country, I of course took the right. When his Majesty arrives opposite, or rather in line with this person, a mace-bearer is dispatched full gallop to order his appearance in the presence. The person then, with the mace-bearer, sets out full gallop, and when about 150 yards from the Shah, both of them throw themselves from their horses, and persevere in making salaams, or obeisances, till they hear one of the officers riding behind the Shah call out, "*sewar beshow*" (mount); they then come within fifty yards of the Shah, when the same ceremony is repeated; and then, if it is a person of great consequence, the Shah himself says *Beou!* (come) the person then approaches near enough to the King's horse to hear what his Majesty says, and to be able to reply to it, and in this manner he walks as long as the audience lasts.* Long before the Shah came abreast of the place where I was, I perceived a person galloping most furiously towards me, who, on his nearer approach, I knew to be one of the favorite Georgians, persons who are only dispatched to the very highest Noblemen with messages of this sort. On coming up to me he said "*Shah shumah Kheily serferauz Khauhed kerd,*" (the Shah designs to exalt your head

* If any appointment or dignity is conferred at such an audience, the person is permitted to kiss the King's *rekaub*, or stirrup.

most highly) and we both set out as if running a race. At about 150 yards from the King we stopped, and I was preparing to dismount, as my companion did, but he said he had received orders from the Shah to prevent me doing so. In an instant almost, I heard the King's own voice ordering me forward; when I came within fifty yards of his Majesty, I again prepared to dismount, but the Shah called out aloud, "*Zerour neest*," (there is no occasion,) "*beou*," (come.)

Now, as ill-luck would have it, Matthew, my English groom, thought it for my credit and his, to mount me on the most spirited horse I had, and I had the utmost difficulty in reining him in. As soon as I came up to the Shah, he said, with a smile, "Aye, Elchee, what brings you here?" "My duty to your Majesty," I replied. Our (at least my) ears were now stunned with the noise of the King's band, which plays from time to time on the march, and which now struck up; this and the great concourse of his fellow animals, behind us, and the Shah marching in rather quick time, made my horse, for a little time, almost mad, which the Shah observing, said, "Elchee, you "should have mounted a quieter beast to come "into a crowd, but I see you Europeans like "horses that dance about—come, I will give you "a quieter one;" and he was about to issue orders for it, when I said, "Please your Majesty, I am "like a Moollah I have heard of in my own country,

" who could read in no book but his own." The Shah laughed heartily, and said, " I understand " what you mean, you cannot ride on our saddles, " nor can I on yours, for I have tried." It was with great difficulty that for some time I could manage the horse at all, or even, now and then, keep my seat, and I heard the King's Gholaums, or body guard, who were from twenty to thirty yards behind us, laughing very heartily at the awkwardness of my situation. However, if it had continued much longer, I had made up my mind what to do, which was to start off, and by way of cooling his courage, give my horse a gallop of a couple of miles a-head, and then return to my place. He gradually, however, became more docile, and saved me the trouble of making such an exhibition before the Shah and the Persians.

After talking of various things, the Shah commenced the most minute, and on some points, comical enquiries about the Royal Family of England. He professed the highest respect and veneration for his late Majesty, George the Third, whom he styled, *Peder-e-Shahan,* the Father of Kings, in the same sense as we talk of the Father of the House of Commons, and wished to know (as I had told him his Majesty did not sit every day in the *Deevan Khaneh,**) how he passed his

* Literally—the Hall of Public Audience and Justice, in opposition to *Deevan-e-Khaas,* which means the Hall of Audience for particular and distinguished people. The Shah seldom appears in the *Deevan Khaneh* more than once in twenty-four hours, and

time, whether he hunted, hawked, or what he did, I told him I believed that when the King was younger, he regularly hunted the stag twice in each week; and when I told him that the stags were bred and in a manner trained for this purpose, and carried out in a cart, and then turned loose, the Shah laughed, but said, "Aye, aye, I see how it is, you Euro- "peans always leave as little to chance as pos- "sible, and I suppose your King must never be "disappointed." I then told the Shah that previously to my leaving England for India the first time, I had had the honor to be present at one of the King's stag hunts, which lasted four hours and a half without stop. "God!" said the Shah, "that must have been good sport; but the "King did not ride all that time, did he?" I assured the Shah that his Majesty rode as hard, or harder, than any man in the field. "By God," said the Shah, "his Majesty must be a perfect "man, for he is wise, bold, and *khoush-savar* (a "fine horseman); of all things in the world, I "should like to have a *shekar* (chase) with my "brother George."

The Shah then made many enquiries about his late Majesty, George the Fourth, of whom he said he had heard great praise. I told him the Prince

that is generally from nine till twelve. The Evening Court of Audiences are generally given in the smaller and more private apartments, and in summer and spring in separate buildings appropriate to that purpose, erected in gardens adjoining the Palace.

of Wales was esteemed to be the most accomplished and finest gentleman in his father's dominions. "His daughter may be your Queen, may she not, "if she outlive her father?" I answered, "cer- "tainly." The Shah said:—"Aye, we had once "a *Shah-Khaunem*—a King-Queen, but she made "a very bad hand of it." I replied, "that we had "had three Queens in England, and that the "reigns of two, Elizabeth and Anne, were almost "the most brilliant that we could reckon."—"Aye, "aye," said the Shah, "*Lizbat dil sheer!*" (*i. e.* "Elizabeth the lion-hearted) I know all about her; "she would have cut off the *Papa's* (*i. e.* Pope's) "head, if she had lived; Shah-Khaunems may do "very well for you, with your laws and customs, "but they would never do here." The Shah said, "the King's next son is the *Ameer-al-askar*, (*i. e.* "Commander of the Army) is he not? the French "talked to me a great deal about him—they said "he knows how to make an army better than any "man in the world, but he is not so good a "General as *Bonopart*." I replied, "Please your "Majesty, these are things I know nothing about." —"Very well," said the Shah,—"and the next "son is, *Serdar-al-Bahr*, (*i. e.* Commander of the "Navy) but I suppose much the same as Hassan "Ally is Governor of Farsistan, and that he has "some Nasr-Oollah-Khan,* to tell him what he is

* Nasr Oollah Khan was nominally the Minister; but actually the dry nurse of the Prince Governor of Farsistan.

" to do, and how to manage his ship, for what " should he know about ships and shipping; where " could he learn it?"—" Your Majesty," said I, " is greatly mistaken, in respect to His Royal " Highness the Duke of Clarence, who is as good " an officer as any in the British fleet, and has " seen as much service as most of them. The " King sent him on board ship, when he was not, " (I believe) twelve years old, and gave strict " orders that His Royal Highness should be treated " in the same way, and made to do the same duty, " as the gentlemen's sons who were put there to " learn their profession; in time he was appointed " to the command of a ship, and has regularly " risen, like his brother-officers in the Navy, " to the rank he now holds."—" *Wullah!*" said the King, " what a wonderful country your's is, " and what wonderful people you are; I should " have a pretty piece of work with the mother of " one of my Princes, if I proposed to take her son, " and send him down to Bushire, to put him on " board a *Khishtec;*" (*i. e.* a bark or ship) and he laughed very heartily. The Shah kept conversing about the Royal Family, till at last he said:— " Come, Mr. Ambassador, let you and I make a " match. What say you to Abbas' son marrying " the Prince of Wales's daughter; where would " all the Kings of the earth be compared to such a " King and Queen! England, all India, all Persia, " *Younga Dunieh* (*i.e.* all America!!) these would

"be real *Shah aulems,* these would be the true "*Kaisers,** true *Fugfoors!* no joke, no child's "play;" and then he went on to parody the well known verse at Delhi:—

"*Egher der dunià Shah est—een est, een est, een est.*"
If there is a king in the world, this is he, this is he, this is he.

After the Shah had amused himself with this idea for sometime, and had built all sorts of castles in the air, he said:—"Come, the thing's done, and I "shall send you, to-night, the usual *sheerene,* "(sweetmeats) on the *ahed,*" *(fiançailes.)*†

We had now arrived opposite to the little village of Tikmedash, and I was in hopes the Shah would have permitted me to take leave; for the night-fall had come on, and drops of rain fell thick and fast; instead of which he said;—"Well, I hear you and "Meerza Bozurg are going to turn farmers here. "I shall come, as I go by, and see your large "cows, your fine sheep, and other things, and "when I encamp at Oujoon, I hope you will be "able to send me twice as much provision as the "village does now."—"Please your Majesty," I

* Kaiser is applied to the Roman Emperors: *Fugfoor* to those of China and Tartary.

† It was comical enough, that in the course of this royal soliloquy, for I answered nothing, the same words nearly, which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Henry of Monmouth, when courting Katherine of France, should have been used by the Shah. Surely this is another proof, how closely our great Bard copied nature—"Compound a boy half *Persian,* half English, that shall go to Constantinople, and take the Turk by the beard."

replied, "our plan is to send you nothing at all "but what you pay for, and to pay you no- "thing but your taxes."—"Oh, oh, you want to "make a French republic,—but I will come *Bono-* "*part* over you." I said, "no, please your Ma- "jesty, we want to make you something like the "King of England."—"Aye, aye," replied the Shah, "if you can do that you will be clever "fellows indeed!"

The rain now began to fall apace, and the King's munzil was full three miles distant; the torches carried before the Shah were lighted, but the wind and rain extinguished them almost as fast as they were lighted, and left us very nearly in the dark; the Shah put his horse into a gallop, and I easily understood there was a good deal of confusion behind us. The royal tents were pitched on the opposite side of a deep ravine, to cross which there was a narrow and tortuous road, or rather path, on each bank—to discover this, in the dark, was next to impossible, to rein up was equally so, for the cavalry behind, at the pace we were going, must have inevitably come upon us, before they could have stopped; so down we went, all together, in the dark, and we heard from behind us those kind of cries and noises, which but too plainly bespoke that many accidents had happened. Upon the top of the opposite bank the royal feraushes were trying all they could to keep their torches alight, but in the midst of the storm, which now

raged with great violence, the light the torches afforded, was rather darkness visible, than any thing else. I rode with the Shah to his very tent ropes, where he alighted, and ran with haste within the perdehs, calling out, however, to the torch bearers:—"take a torch and go with the Ambas-"sador to Tikmedash;" and to me, "*Khodeh* "*haufez*, (*i. e.* good bye.) I shall send you the "shereene to night, so do not go to supper be-"fore it comes."

Now the instant the Shah was out of sight, out went the torches, and away went the torch-bearers, and I was left in the middle of about two thousand cavalry, who were scampering about at all angles, and whose horses were every now and then getting entangled in the different tent ropes and thrown down;—mine, therefore, was a situation rather to be pitied than envied, and I scarcely hoped to get out of it without some accident. My good fortune, however, brought me in contact with the Georgian *Gholaum*, who had been sent to me when I met the King: he was a very clever, quick person, and as soon as he perceived how I was hemmed in, he began to bawl out,—"Make room "for the *Shah Zadeh*," (*i. e.* the Prince)—hearing this from a person whom most about us knew to be a great favorite of the Shah's, they easily believed he had one of the little princes under his care, and so made the best way for us they could. This kind person was so good as to accompany me

across the ravine, and would have conducted me to Tikmedash; but very shortly after we had crossed that dangerous spot, to my great surprise, but also to my great joy, I was met by all the men of the village, coming to look after me and escort me home.

The Shah's line of march on his return differed from that which was observed on his proceeding from Sultania to Oujoon. The army moved from Oujoon to Tæheran by detachments and different routes. The Shah had with him, body guard and all together, about two thousand cavalry. These marched in two divisions from fifty to sixty abreast. The Shah rode in front, in the middle of the first division, from twenty to thirty yards a-head; on each side of his horse were eight estafettes or shotters, dressed in yellow broad cloth, trimmed with silver, having feathers in their caps, and silver sticks in their hands: the Shah wore a plain scarlet cloth coat, with diamond buttons, formed with a number of small diamonds: the furniture of his horse was plain gold, his sword quite plain, and his head piece was the same as that worn by the Gholaums: two persons road about ten yards behind him,—his calean and his cloak bearer: the cloak was of that thick cloth, which in Persia is called *bagrass;* the color was crimson, and differed in no wise from the common best *chook-e-bauroone,* except in the beauty of its gold agraffe. In the front, about the middle of the first division,

was carried a large silk flag, or more properly the standard of Persia: the ground green, and the device, in the middle, the lion and the sun, most richly embroidered; and this appeared to be carried in the middle of the King's *nokareh khaneh,* or military band, and at each end of this division were two large plain green silk flags. Between the two divisions, there was a space of at least two hundred yards, in the middle of which were five or six led horses in plain housings, for His Majesty's use on the road, hawkmen and greyhounds, and about fifty swivels, called *zembourchs,* mounted on camels, with their gunners dressed in scarlet with black caps. The second division had three flags, placed in the same position as the King's flags were, but they were of red, or rather, plain crimson silk.

A little after ten o'clock, the little village of Tikmedash was thrown into confusion by a general cry of "*Feraush-Shah-mee-âiend*" — (the King's Feraushes are coming); the storm had abated, and they were able to make use of torches: they had enquired the way to my tents, and were greatly surprised to find I lodged in the Khedkodah's little cabin; here, however, they made their appearance, bringing with them three beautifully painted trays, on which were very large silver and old china dishes, filled with different meats and rices of the most delicious cookery, as well as the finest sweetmeats I ever tasted; they also delivered

me a very flattering message from the Shah, and said, he had expressly charged them to tell me he would have sent me wine, but he had no such article in his possession; they then said, they would return in the morning* for the trays and dishes. After these gentlemen, gratified with a present, had departed, I called the old Khedkhodah and one or two of the principal men of the village, and said to them,—"Come, the Shah has often "eat of your meat, now you shall eat of his. Bis- "millah;" and we all sat down together. When we had finished, the old man rose up and said,— "Well, this is a thing I never saw in my sleep, "that I should eat of the King's meat."—But if he was delighted, the women and children of the village were almost out of their senses at getting some of the sweetmeats and the remains of the pillaws.

The great Ministers, and the whole of the Defter Khaneh, remained on the ground at Oujoon, it being expected, if the weather continued favorable, that the Shah would make his return to

* When the Feraushes came in the morning, they gave a most lamentable list of the fatal and dreadful accidents which had happened in passing the ravine; and they also said, that if His Majesty had been three yards more to the right than he was, he must have fallen over a precipice at least twenty feet perpendicular. Please to remember, I rode to the right of the Shah, and when I came home at night, I had told Matthew my groom, I was convinced, my horse's fore feet had been for a short time off the ground, but I suspect he took a bound to avoid the danger. I hope I was properly thankful to God for so great an escape.

Tæheran rather a hunting party, than a march. I therefore left Tikmedash the next morning, to return to Oujoon, where I found Meerza Sheffee, Meerza Bozurg, and the Ameen-ed-Dowlah. They had received the news of what had happened the night before; and they spoke of the Shah's escape with wonder, but with great joy. They also spoke of my very long conversation with the Shah, as of a thing that had never happened before,—such audiences being granted as a great favor, and always made very short. They were extremely anxious to learn what we could have talked about for such a length of time; and, as none of the Shah's attendants were near enough to hear distinctly what passed, they could only get at it through me; and this increased their anxiety. I gave them a general account of what took place; but Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-Dowlah, could with difficulty be persuaded, that they had not been at times the subjects of our discourse. I assured them that Meerza Bozurg's was the only Minister's name which had been mentioned throughout the ride; but, as the Meerza neither asked me how, nor in what manner* it was mentioned, and seemed to care but little about it, I said nothing farther on the subject. The two or three days after this, which we stayed together till the

* This was one of the Meerza's peculiarities; he never seemed to care what was said of him, or about him, to the Shah.

camp broke up, the attentions and civilities of these noblemen towards us, made the time pass very agreeably. On the day the Ministers moved, the gentlemen of the Mission, and myself, repaired to the winter-quarters assigned to us at Tauris.

Every one now began to make himself useful, in the different ways assigned to him; and I sincerely wish it were in the power of my pen, to describe the delight and satisfaction I received from the readiness and alacrity, with which every gentleman undertook the service recommended to him. To my excellent and ingenious friend, Sir James Sutherland, I have already acknowledged my obligations; but I have great and sincere pleasure in mentioning here, what I have not done before,—that, at my request, he was so good as to furnish the Prince Royal with the most beautiful models, of his own making, of wagons, carts, tumbrils, wheelbarrows,* ploughs, spades, &c. &c.; and, in addition to this, to hold a kind of regular school,

* When the wheelbarrows were placed before the Prince Royal, one of the Persian noblemen (who always affect to despise European improvements) said: "This is all mighty well, but it will "consume a considerable space of time to empty these wheelbar-"rows."—Sir James said to him, "Indeed, Sir, it will not;—and "if you only get into the wheelbarrow, I will show you it will "not."—The Prince insisted on his making the experiment. Sir James trundled him away at a quick rate; and approaching a muddy part of the square, he gave the wheelbarrow a cant, and turned, to the great entertainment of the Prince and the spectators, the Persian Khan into the mud.

for instructing the young Persians put under his care, in surveying, mapping, geometry, &c. &c. My lamented friend, the late Dr. Campbell, employed himself in attending such sick persons as required his assistance,—(and they gradually became very numerous,)—and in teaching English to several Persian youths put under his care. Sir Henry Willock had enough to do in superintending the troop and detachment of Sepoys, and occasionally assisting in copying dispatches; and I esteemed myself fortunate in having so amiable, so able a companion and assistant, as Mr. Thomas Henry Sheridan,—a young gentleman, whose suavity of manner, and lively conversation, endeared him to us all. To this hour I lament his death. The neglect I have experienced, I have borne as I might; but the neglect with which he was most unjustly treated, I still sorrow on, because I believe it abridged his valuable life,—at least, if I may judge from the last letters I received from him. Very shortly after my return to England, I had the misfortune to act as one of his executors, instead of joining such of his family friends, who were willing to endeavour to bring his merit into notice. As to myself, I was at all calls on the Prince Royal's service; and such of the gentlemen of the Mission, who are now living, I dare say, (if there were occasion for it) will vouch, that in this service a full third of my time was passed on horseback. I have always flattered myself with

the belief, that there never was a happier set of fellows, than we were. Every day that I was at home, we rode out together; and once or twice in the week, as business allowed, we went out shooting.

By the recommendation of Meerza Bozurg, the Prince Royal appointed, as our Mehmander, Hyder Ally Khan, a young man of such genuine good nature, such pleasing manners, and such eager and uniform desire to supply all our wants, and execute all our wishes, that he soon became a general favorite, and has since risen, as I predicted he would, to a very high rank in the Ministry at Tæheran: his love for the Meerza was literally veneration.

The course of the winter in Azarbaijan, if I may judge from the two winters I passed there, is—in the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, a slight snow falls, generally attended with strong gales from the N.W.;—about the middle, sometimes a little earlier, of the last month, what is called the winter snow, falls, and the surface of the ground is never seen again till the middle of April, when vegetation starts into life, as if by magic. As soon as the heavens have discharged this load of snow, for it generally lies from three to four feet deep on the ground, the weather becomes settled into a bright, clear, and severe frost, with the most brilliant sunshine imaginable. Sometimes, indeed, there is a second

small fall of snow, and sometimes not. I had no thermometer graduated lower than 16 degrees below Zero, and therefore I had no means to ascertain the precise degree of cold to which the country is exposed,—for about the middle of December the mercury sank into the bulb, from which it never rose again till the middle of February; yet, fenced by their covering of snow, several species of geranium, myrtles, and other tender plants, live through the winter. My Indian companions, however, were soon pinched, notwithstanding all the warm clothing I could purchase for them; and though a sad dysentery broke out amongst them, yet, through the care and medical skill of Doctor Campbell, and the attention of Sir Henry Willock, in making them take exercise in doors, I did not lose a man. It fortunately happened, that I possessed a few dozen of very old and very fine Port wine; which, after Doctor Campbell had told me, that it appeared, when given in small quantities, to be more powerfully efficient in stopping the effects of the disorder than any other medicaments, was entirely kept for their use.

When His Royal Highness returned from his campaign, which Meerza Bozurg and myself had had the greatest difficulty in making a strictly defensive one, my frequent interviews and conversations with him, gave me ample opportunity of estimating his abilities and character,—and I

was quite astonished at the extent of the one, and at the manly and firm complexion of the other. He was extremely anxious to send his eldest son, Mohammed to England, to be educated there. He asked me to give him a copy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* for the plates, which he could understand; and he sent for Doctor Campbell, *and seriously asked him to translate the whole letter-press,* which he could not understand. Several detached parts, on Gunnery, Fortification, &c., were translated amongst us, and delivered to him, and on these he set great value. He always spoke of Sir James Sutherland, as a person who could do every thing but make a man.

The Prince, during the winter, sent us an invitation to attend him at a *battu.** The scene of action was from eight to ten miles distant from Tauris, in a valley, three sides of which were bounded by rocky mountains, tolerably high,—and the fourth opening to a plain. Several regiments of the Serbaz, or infantry, at Tauris, had for sometime been previously dispatched to a certain distance, to hem in, and drive to the table-land of these mountains, the deer and other game which might be lying between them and the proposed *point de chasse.* When the animals arrived on this table-land, which was extensive, they were

* I almost fear those who recollect the hunting party in the Highlands, described in *Waverley,* will accuse me of piracy.

suffered for some days to remain in peace and quietness,—and were only contradicted when they attempted to retreat from it.

On the appointed day, long before the dawn broke, the Mission joined the Prince Royal outside the walls of Tauris. The suite of His Royal Highness to the number of about one hundred horsemen, consisted of noblemen invited to partake, and of Georgian favorites and Gholaums, permitted to enjoy, the sport. At our arrival on the ground, we found a very ample and excellent Persian breakfast prepared for us, which, as the morning was very cold, and a smart ride had given us a sharp appetite, was very acceptable. This finished, the Prince prepared himself for action, by pulling off his *caba*, or coat, having a cloth band, something like the list of cloth, tightly swathed round each of his legs from the ankle to the knee; and by throwing aside his cap and shawl, and binding a handkerchief very closely round his head. He then set out, to enter the valley at the part which opened to the plain, attended by about a dozen persons on foot, each carrying a rifle gun for his use; first of all, however, appointing a person to each gentleman of the Mission, to place him in a favorable situation, and to attend him whilst there. In proper time after the Prince's departure, we heard the signal for the Serbaz on the table land to advance,—and very shortly afterwards a brisk fire of musquetry

commenced in the bottom of the valley, which soon increased to a continued rattle: then it was that such of the deer and other animals, as were not killed or mortally wounded by the Prince and his party in the bottom, endeavoured to escape by scaling and clambering up the sides of the mountains on which the other sportsmen were placed, and which consequently afforded them opportunities of firing at them when they came within reach of their guns.

The heavy Persian rifles were capable of throwing their balls from one side of the valley to the other, and therefore as every body shoots where, and at what he likes, the amusement is always attended with serious risk and danger; so much so, that in the preceding year, a Georgian, who was a great favorite with the prince, was shot dead, as he stood close by his master's side, and it is very seldom indeed that these battus take place without the occurrence, either from the firing, or from the rush of the deer, of some fearful and severe accident. Placed even as we were, there were few or any of us who could say that in the course of the sport balls had not struck within a few feet, nay, within a few inches of some of us; and though, perhaps, one was apparently well secured in front by a rock, yet it was no uncommon thing to hear a ball come whizzing from behind, fired by a person placed above you. The sport continued between three and four hours, and as far

as I recollect, it was found that when finished upwards of 160 bucks had been killed. Amongst us Sir James Sutherland was the only one fortunate enough to kill a deer dead; and no one in these parties is ever allowed to claim a wounded buck as his, unless he follows him till he drops, which several of the Persians, in their eagerness to signalize themselves before their Prince, always do, though it is a service of imminent danger, since as long as the animal can keep his legs, every one who catches a glimpse of him fires at him. When the sport ceased, by the Prince's order refreshments were prepared, and we mounted to return to the city. His Royal Highness told me that several accidents had taken place amongst the party in the valley, by the rush of the deer, and that one or two of the Serbaz had been wounded, but not dangerously. I believe there are but few courts or countries in the world where the differences between prince and subject, superior and inferior, are more strictly and rigidly required, or more willingly granted, than in Persia; and yet, on occasions of this sort, all etiquette seems laid aside; every one rides as he pleases, and such as are permitted to partake of the sport, fire as they please, without any other consideration than that of killing the animal they fire at, and thus often disappoint either the Prince or their superior of the shot which he could otherwise have, and not unfrequently put him in imminent danger.

The snow was on the ground, and the frost intense; nevertheless the greater part of our way home was employed by the Prince and the Persians in feats of horsemanship. His Royal Highness several times, on full gallop, threw on the ground his black cap which he wore on his head, and when he had reached a distance from it of from twenty to thirty yards, he turned round on his saddle, the horse still keeping his gallop, and fired his rifle at the cap, which the ball invariably struck. After this, one of his attendants presented him with a very long spear, and on his Royal Highness calling by name to two or three noblemen present, and also to two or three of his own Georgians, they formed a party to go through what I know not how better to describe than by calling it the spear exercise. One part of this pleased me much. The Prince was supposed to be pursued, and he kept the point of his spear behind him in such position and such motion, as to render it utterly impossible for his adversary to force his horse in that quarter so near him as to reach either the Prince's horse or himself with his sabre. But when the spectators could expect no such thing, the Prince struck his spear with force into the ground, where it stood upright, turned his horse as if it were on a pivot, which, of course, brought the rider unexpectedly face to face with his pursuers, fired both his pistols in their faces, turned his horse again in the same wonderful man-

ner, then turned himself on his saddle, fired his gun, snatched up his spear and rode off, and to my great surprise had reloaded his pistols in so short a space of time, as to appear almost incredible. When his Royal Highness rejoined us on the road, he said to me, "Meerza Bozurg has told me how "much you were with that famous Zund horse-"man, Luft Ally; did you ever see him do more "than this?"

The winter proved long and severe—our intercourse with Tæheran and the southern parts of the Empire was for many weeks interrupted; but as soon as it opened, I received fresh dispatches from the Governor-General, ordering me immediately to leave Persia,* acquainting me that he had appointed Surgeon Jukes, of the Bombay Establishment, to take charge of the British interests at Tæheran, until the arrival there of General Malcolm; and also informing me that these arrangements were officially communicated to the Shah, accompanied by a strong request that his Majesty would, from that time forward, cease to hold any communication with me, or to consider me as a person accredited to him. Lord Minto had certainly not given me any great reason to respect or admire him; but when Meerza Sheffee,

* It would have been as well for my lord and his adviser, if they had looked into Vattel or Wiquefort, and instructed themselves, as to what justifies a Minister leaving the territories of a Sovereign to whom he is accredited, and by whom he has been once acknowledged, before he issued these orders.

in his letter to me, told me, that on these dispatches being read to the Shah, he had publicly called the Governor-General *fool* and *madman*, I did feel (little as it may be believed in Leadenhall-street) very sorry that *the dignity of the Company's Indian Government* should be spoken of in such terms. A gentlemanly mind, placed even in the highest of all high stations, will always grieve to be obliged to convey reprehension to an inferior, and will invariably endeavour to convey it in terms no harsher than the occasion may require; but Lord Minto's mind (to me at least) was not a mind of this temper, and though I held an appointment under my Sovereign's sign manual, and under the great seal of England, his Lordship forgot himself so much, as to treat me as if I was solely under his orders,—as if I had committed some enormous crime,—or had been guilty of some egregious folly;—and to use language which, if I had compromised my Sovereign's honor, or injured the interest of his Kingdom, his gracious and noble mind would never have commanded faults, heavy even as these, to be rebuked with. The dreamer Abdoul Hassan, when those about him persuaded him to play the Caliph, still played it like a gentleman.

I confess, without reserve, my patience was now exhausted; and being a native of that part of the King's dominions where that virtue is perhaps less exercised than in some others, I did, on this

occasion, let my heart run before my head, and in as plain English as I could make use of, I gave his Lordship my opinion both of his style and his measures, winding up the whole nearly in the words which Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Queen Katherine :—

——————— "that again
"I do refuse you for my Judge, and here
"Before you all appeal unto the *King*,
"To bring my whole cause 'fore His Majesty,
"And to be judg'd by him."

I believe I have already said that fuel at Tauris is scarce and dear, I will now add that it is bad in its kind; and to make a fire wherewith to cook *à l'Anglaise*, it must be laid on in very large masses. It generally consists of the boughs and slender stems of the wild plum, wild cherry, apricots, or other species of wild or worn-out fruit trees; and even this wretched stuff is sold by weight. For chamber purposes, the Persians invariably use charcoal, in large brazen or chaffing dishes—this is rendered wholesome by the charcoal being lighted out of doors, where the noxious vapour arising from it is suffered to evaporate; and when the mass is burnt completely pure and bright, it is then brought into the room. Considering how *vitally* necessary fire and firing were in such a temperature of the atmosphere to my Indian companions, and indeed to ourselves, the expense of this article produced a frightful and vexatious item in my monthly accounts, and I

could perform no greater act of charity towards the poorer Persians, than that of sending them from time to time small supplies of fuel.

The principal part of the firing made use of by my friends at Tikmedash and other such villages, is nothing more than the dung of their cattle, collected, made into cakes, and dried in the sun in the summer, which, if it can be afforded to be used in considerable quantities, produce a fire, not very unlike, in appearance or heat, that of peat. It is fortunate that Persian cooking, whether for the King or the clown, seldom requires a fierce fire, but is indebted for its excellence to a slow one,—enough, in the cook's language, to keep the pot or the saucepan on a simmer.

I have often heard of Arabian hospitality: I have sometimes experienced it. I have read many a sad epithet applied to the peasant of Persia, and I have often witnessed the gross injustice of these epithets when so applied; but, tell me, reader, which exercises the greater act of hospitality, he, who on the arrival of a stranger, boils his rice, kills his lamb, dresses it, and partakes of it with the stranger,—or he who, when the mercury has sunk into the bulb of the thermometer, and the snow even covers the cottage in which he lives, possessing only a small quantity of good fuel, preserves that for the use of the stranger, lights it in a separate room for the sole comfort of his guest, and derives himself no other benefit from it, but

that of honoring the person whom he has received under his roof?

Selfishness is not an inherent Asiatic vice: for the truth of this, if they were alive, I would appeal to the very early servants of the East India Company; nay, I would appeal to persons even of my own standing in their service, to report and record the many noble, disinterested acts of charity, generosity, and assistance, they have witnessed bestowed by Asiatics on people living, thinking, and believing, differently from themselves. Early travellers are full of such instances; some of the late ones prefer sarcasm and sneer. In every part of the East which I have visited, if Europeans have not increased the propensity of the natives to vice, it has not been their fault; for (generally speaking) they have exhibited to them very perfect examples of selfishness, rapacity, chicanery, and the very *crapule* of debauchery: how this may be hereafter, when there shall be a freer importation of hungry attorneys, and of another particular class of the London community, it is much wiser to speculate upon in silence than prophetically to commit to paper. If the constitution of the East India Company had great deformities, it also had great beauties; but deformities and beauties, like Lady Macduff and her children, are all gone "at one fell swoop."

Early in the spring, Sir Robert Adair acquainted me, that he had succeeded in prevailing on the

Porte to send a Minister into Persia, authorized to arrange and settle a variety of matters and questions, in which the Grand Seignor and the Shah were equally concerned; and that I might safely assure the Persian Ministry, that if it was wished, a resident Turkish Minister should be sent to the Court of Tæheran; it being sincerely the desire of the Ottoman Ministry to cultivate the very closest and most intimate friendship and good understanding between the Court of Tæheran and that of Constantinople. When I carried an account to Meerza Bozurg of the nature of Sir Robert's dispatches, I scarcely ever saw a man more delighted; a messenger was immediately dispatched to Meerza Sheffee, with translated extracts of them; and, as I learnt afterwards, the intelligence they contained, was regarded as important, and afforded as much satisfaction at Tæheran as it had done at Tauris.

After consulting the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg, and reckoning ourselves sure, if there should be need of the co-operation, or, at all events, if it should be necessary to ask the consent of the Porte to the plan, we should receive it;—it was agreed that I should address a private letter to that great statesman and merchant, the late Sir Francis Baring, disclosing to him such parts of Meerza Bozurg's plans of commerce as for the present were to the purpose, and assuring him that, if within the range of his commercial ac-

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A Persian cuirassier by Sir J. Sutherland.

Sketched from Life by Sir J.S.

quaintance, any one should be willing to send a vessel to Trebizonde, laden with certain articles which I pointed out, the Prince Royal, on its arrival at that port, being notified to him by me, would instantly pay into my hands, not only the value of a *bonâ fide* invoice of the whole cargo, but also twenty-five per cent. profit thereon. The lamented death of Sir Francis (which none of his friends could have greater cause to grieve for than myself) prevented me receiving an answer to this letter, but I trust the reader will accept the circumstance of its being written as a proof that the Prince and Meerza Bozurg contemplated very serious changes in the commerce of their country.

When the weather became sufficiently temperate, Sir James Sutherland, with the full approbation of the Prince Royal, was dispatched towards the Caspian Sea, and along a considerable line of the Persian and Russian frontier, to make accurate surveys of those interesting portions of the empire: he was attended by his Persian scholars, with whose docility and improvement he always expressed, and expresses himself, much pleased; whilst these youths, on their part, beheld and treated him with that reverence and respect which ignorance is so ready and so willing to bestow on intelligence. How well, how accurately, Sir James executed the task assigned him, the public, from the map which he presented to me, and which I published last year, is now able to judge.

For my collection of maps at Boultibrooke I

have purchased at high prices, patronized and cried up by high persons (some of whom are as able to judge of maps of the moon as of Persia) a variety of maps of that empire, and of particular parts of it, not one of which (contradict it who pleases) has the smallest pretension to vie in the accuracy with which the different ranges and ramifications of the mountains, rivers, and the course of the rivers, and the position of the cities, are laid down; or in the clearness and neatness of execution, with that map now furnished to the world by my excellent and most ingenious friend. The French gentlemen opposed to us in Persia, were gentlemen and men of science; and though I never had the pleasure of conversing with any one of them, I will be bound to say, whenever Sutherland's labours come under their inspection, they will speak of them with the praise they deserve. And I must be permitted to doubt whether any of them, on their return to France, presented any document to Bonaparte (who, by-the-bye, never employed but such cats as could catch mice) superior to this, as far as it goes. I am proud to say that the King not only permitted a copy of this map to be presented to him, but with that readiness to promote science in all its branches, which has invariably distinguished the royal family, and more particularly our present gracious Sovereign, His Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow on him a signal mark of his royal approbation and favor.

For myself, I was now glad to be able to pay a

visit to my little kind villagers at Tikmedash, on whom, however, I found the severity of the winter had borne very hard, as they had lost a very considerable part of their stock, from the insufficiency of winter keep. In the midst of these almost unsophisticated peasants,* Mr. Sheridan, whom I took with me, and myself, passed as happy a week as possible, eating again of their bread, and drinking of their cup, totally forgetting that there was in the world such a person as Lord Minto, and thinking no farther of business than as it related to the great plans which the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg had in view. The peasants regarded me in farming (but without the same reason) pretty much in the way Sutherland's scholars in geometry did him.

On my return to Tauris, his Royal Highness desired me to visit different parts of the province, and investigate how far *bunds*, or artificial lakes, might be formed, for increasing cultivation by means of irrigation; and though my opinion on such subjects probably was, as Squire Western says, not worth "a brass varthing," still I was glad to be so employed, because if I had remained in Persia, it all tended to one great end. By the Prince Royal's desire, I also visited, in company with a Persian nobleman, holding high rank in the army, a large portion of the line of the Arras, the new fort on that river called Abbas-abad, began on a

* "Ha! there are three of us that are sophisticated."—*Lear.*

plan furnished by the able engineers whom Bonaparte had sent into Persia, and ridiculously *improved* (as they said) by the additions and alterations of the *abler* Persian engineers; and from thence I visited the ancient city, or rather the ruins, of Nakshivan. My observations, such as they were, were laid in writing before the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg, and according to the ideas I had formed on what I had seen, and on as careful an examination of it as my abilities and circumstances allowed, both they and I were quite surprised at the extent to which several parts of the province seemed capable of being improved.

Sur ces entrefaites, I received private intelligence from England which set my heart at rest as to the light in which what I had done in Persia was viewed in England; and from India I received intelligence that General Malcolm had sailed from thence in the character of Envoy General from the Governor to the Shah; and that probably at the moment I received the letters containing this information, he was either landing or landed at Bushire. It was not very long after this before I received official dispatches from England, acquainting me that my tendered resignation of my appointment was graciously accepted; that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint Sir Gore Ouseley his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Tæheran, and that on this occasion he had commanded Marquis Wel-

lesley to convey to me (I am truly willing to acknowledge in terms far beyond my merit) the King's most gracious and most unqualified approbation of the whole of my conduct in Persia.

I had played a game of tremendous responsibility—I had set myself in the very breach against folly in power—I had put myself in array against ambition, supported by powerful connexions—not by my own choice—not by my own seeking, for I had endeavoured to accommodate myself to circumstances as long as it was in my power to do so, but being called into action, *and be it carefully remembered,* acting (unworthy, I admit, of so high a character) as the representative of *my King,* I did,—as I trust I always shall do when the name of my Sovereign is concerned,—I say, I did all in my power to prevent *a subject* and subjects treating it with disrespect; and also to prevent so disgraceful an exhibition to the Persians and their Monarch, as that of a subject, by his own authority, being able to cancel and annul a power and appointment which had been communicated to the latter by a letter of credence from our common Sovereign, *the King,* and acted upon and acknowledged by the Shah and his Ministers.

In addition to these serious considerations, I had formed engagements with the Persian court, for which I had no authority; I had done several things for which I had no instructions—I was a person having little acquaintance amongst the

great, and even such of those as had done me the honor at different times to express a favorable opinion of my former services, were out of power, whilst I had had reason to know, that at the India House, out of the twenty-four directors, there were only two who viewed my appointment from the Crown with common temper, and not many more who shewed me the civility commonly due from one gentleman to another. He must be well nerved indeed, who, *pedente lite,* can look at such a situation with indifference, or who, having a family dependant on his labours, can lay his head on his pillow and expect much sleep. Will, therefore, any man of common-sense tell me what is the reward which would prevail with him voluntarily to undergo nine months such existence as I had just passed through?* I was not, I am not, ass enough to imagine that the whole of my conduct through such a mass of confused and perverted circumstances, could have been *totus teres atque rotundus*;" but what supported me under

* There is a very pretty Persian apologue on the difference between mental and corporeal suffering. A King and his minister were discussing the subject, and differed in opinion. The minister maintained the first to be most severe, and to convince his Sovereign of it, he took a lamb, broke its leg, shut it up, and put food before it. He took another, shut it up with a tiger, which was bound by a strong chain, so that the beast could spring near, but not seize the lamb, and put food also before him. In the morning he carried the King to see the effect of the experiment. The lamb with the broken leg had eaten up all the food placed before him; the other was found dead from fright. This apologue was in the edition of the Khelul or Damizet, I gave the Prince Royal.

an almost breathless anxiety, which seemed from its intenseness to have no end, was, that if for any mistake I had made want of judgment could be admitted in extenuation, I might then conscientiously and safely apply to myself

Nil concire sibi nullâ pallescere culpâ.

In again casting my eyes over Mr. Sheridan's private Journal, there is a very considerable hiatus, probably caused by that gentleman's frequent indisposition and full public employment, and out of which many leaves were evidently torn before it came into my possession. I find I have omitted to mention, that on the 5th of February, Baron Wrede, dispatched on the part of General Tormesoff, the Russian Governor-General of Teflis and the regions of the Caucasus, arrived at Tauris. The memoranda which my friend has preserved of the transactions of the Baron's Mission, and of the British Mission in relation to it, are very ample; and as they afford matter whereon to found a very just idea as to what extent the Court of Tæheran was at that time inclined to shape her foreign policy, in accordance with the views and interests of England, and of the unreserved confidence Meerza Bozurg placed in me, I shall throw such parts of what my friend has preserved on this subject, as can now with safety and propriety, be made public, into a note, which will be found in the appendix.

Towards the end of June, the Shah notified to me, through Meerza Sheffee, his desire that I

should join the royal camp, on its arrival in the plain of Sultania, which, as I had heard that General Malcolm was expected to arrive there much about the same time, I confess I should have been glad of a sufficient excuse to have declined. Meerza Hassan, however, Meerza Bozurg's eldest son, had been constituted Minister to the Prince Royal, in the place of his father, who was now entirely employed about the Shah's affairs, under the title of Kaimacam. There was a good deal of business, in which the Prince was much interested, to be transacted with the Shah; and as Meerza Hassan was directed to proceed to Sultania for that purpose, the Prince Royal, and Meerza Bozurg, who was then at Tauris, were pleased to think it might be useful and agreeable to His Royal Highness, if I accompanied the Meerza to the royal camp. Though I could not with propriety have avoided complying with the Shah's wishes, yet I must confess that the pleasure of Meerza Hassan's company on the road, and the hope of being of some little service to the Prince, made the journey much more agreeable to me, than it otherwise would have been. Accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan, I joined Meerza Hassan, and proceeded with him to the royal camp. The Shah had reached Sultania two or three days before us. He received me with great courtesy, and flattered me so much as to say, that the only part of the dispatches which he had received from

Meerza Abdul Hassan, his Minister in England, which was disagreeable to him, was that which acquainted him that my resignation of my appointment at his Court had been accepted. He thanked me for all I had done, expressed himself greatly satisfied with the reception Meerza Abdoul Hassan had met with in England, and still more so with the alterations in his favor which had been made in the treaty that I had negociated.

Notwithstanding a good deal of absurd opposition on the part of the Ameen-ed-dowlah, the conferences I had attended on the affairs of the Prince Royal, were in their result as favorable and as satisfactory as it was possible to expect. The third night after my arrival I had a private audience of the Shah, which lasted from nine in the evening till midnight, and it may amuse the reader to be told, that such was the jealousy of Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, at this most unusual conduct of the Shah, that on my leaving the royal apartment, they both of them were in waiting for the purpose of entreating me to pass a little time with them before I retired to rest. What had probably more excited their jealousy than any thing else, was the very great length of the audience, and the circumstance of Meerza Hassan being sent for at a certain part of it, and remaining closeted with the Shah and myself for the better part of half an hour.

The two old ministers were most anxious to

know not only what had generally passed, but were more particularly desirous of knowing all that the Shah had said to me, or I had said to the Shah, on their subject. I told them that I had so many obligations to them both, that it was impossible I could say any thing to the Shah that related to them personally, but what was favorable to them both; but that I had been consulted on very high and very delicate matters of state, and that on those matters I had delivered my opinions, such as they were, without bias, and without reserve. I then related to them, as if in confidence, several things which the Shah had determined to communicate to them, on the morrow, and concluded by saying:—"the Shah has determined to leave the "whole of the Russian business in the hands of the "Prince Royal, Meerza Bozurg, Meerza Hassan, "and, as long as I stay in Persia, of myself; and let "me advise you, as a sincere friend, not to attempt "making any alteration in this arrangement, for "the Shah's mind is firmly made up on this plan, "and to attempt to argue against its propriety "will not be for your interest, either with his "Majesty or the Prince." It was quite laughable to see the consequence this memorable audience gave me the next day with all sorts of persons in the camp,—but one consequence of it was not quite so agreeable; namely, that of being pestered to put forth and support all sorts of idle and foolish pretensions with the two Ministers, whom it was

now considered, would grant any request I made, however unreasonable it might be.

Shortly after this, General Malcolm arrived in the royal camp, and the Shah intimated to me his wish that I should be present at the audience he designed to give him. I answered, that I would most willingly comply with His Majesty's wishes, provided General Malcolm permitted me to present him to the Shah; this being objected to, on the part of the General, I considered it my duty to interfere no farther in the matter, and on the day in which the audience took place, I made a little party of pleasure, with some Persian friends, to visit and pass the day at some beautiful springs issuing from a rock, at the foot of a mountain, a little distance from the camp; at which place, on a very beautiful spot, the Shah had caused to be erected a simple building, sufficient to protect a party from suffering from the fervid rays of the sun.

General Malcolm did me the favor of paying me a visit, which I returned; and immediately on his arrival in the royal camp, I officially communicated to him the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley, as well as the permission I had received to return to England, immediately on the arrival of Sir Gore in Persia. What had been arranged between the Shah, Meerza Hassan, and myself, had cut out business enough for us at Tauris, to which place therefore we speedily returned.

Arrived there, I learned that the Prince was absent at Abbasabad, whither he had gone to give some directions in person, and to examine what had been done since he last visited the fortress. With Meerza Bozurg, who had remained in Tauris, I had a long and most interesting conference. I told him (as I was authorised to do by the Shah) every word which had passed between His Majesty and myself, except a little matter which personally related to His Majesty; and which, though the Shah did not forbid the disclosure of it to the Meerza, I considered it most prudent to withhold. The Meerza then told me that he was aware, when I left Tauris for the royal camp, that the Shah would converse very freely with me, but added, "I had no idea he "would have done so in the manner you relate." I was rather astonished, and vexed to see, that though every thing had been settled, not only according to, but even beyond our expectation, the Meerza received the account of it with an indifference so palpable, that I could not help asking him the cause of it:—he flattered me so far as to say, "all this would be delightful if you were to "remain with us, but as it is, I am sure one half "of it will never be done—however, you must "lose no time in going to the Prince, and telling "him what you have told me."

There was one part of what the Shah communicated to me which vexed and shocked me very

much,—it was his intentions towards Mohammed Nebee Khan. No doubt this person's conduct had been highly injudicious, and deserving, perhaps, of a harsher epithet; but it was easy to see, from the terms in which the Shah spoke of him, and the circumstances he related to me concerning him, that Meerza Bozurg had never forgotten what he called "taking the fire from under the "Arab pots," in the Dushtistan. My connexion with this person had much changed from the former intimacy of it; yet when I became aware of the very dreadful precipice on which he stood, a recollection of former friendship induced me to attempt softening the Shah's mind towards him. All I could obtain from the Monarch was, *it shall not happen whilst you are in the country.* I now made another effort for him with Meerza Bozurg, and asked him to join me in beseeching the Prince to put himself between this unfortunate man and the deadly wrath of the Shah. The Meerza then said: "I will now disclose to you what I find the "Shah has not, and, therefore, I suspect him not "to be acquainted with these facts to the extent "that I am. I will now disclose to you his un- "justifiable and pernicious intrigues at Schyras; "and then tell me whether you can ask me to go, "or can go yourself, to the Prince, and request of "him to interest himself in favor of a man, who "would willingly embroil everything and every- "body in the Empire, to gratify his own ambition."

Fully acquainted as I was with Meerza Bozurg's gentle and humane nature, and knowing as I did how often he had exerted himself with the Shah for others, I was quite thunderstruck with his sternness on this occasion; but the Meerza's Arab feelings and blood were up; and persons who had been dear to him, and useful to his former sovereign, Luft Ally Khan, had been greatly injured or ruined, and he was inexorable.

Immediately after this, I waited on the Prince at Abbasabad. I scarce need say that he received me most kindly, for he never received me otherwise. Meerza Hassan, his Minister, on his return to him, had told him as far as he knew of it, what had passed between the Shah and myself; but when I detailed to him the rest, he was pleased to say, I had rendered him services he could never requite. I remained with His Royal Highness three days, when I returned to Tauris; and the Shah having now reached the Chemen Oujoon, I proceeded thither with Meerza Bozurg to pay my duty to him.

General Malcolm and his suite were also in camp. The General had brought with him, as a present from the Bengal Government to the Shah, twelve beautiful field-pieces, with harness, and every requisite for their being used in the field as horse-artillery. A part of his suite consisted of the late excellent and lamented Captain Charles Christie; of Lieutenant Lindsay of the Madras artillery; of

Ensign Monteith, and Doctor Charles Cormick; all of which gentlemen I expressed my wish to General Malcolm to retain in Persia for the public service; with this wish the General complied. Whoever is in charge of our affairs at the Court of Tæheran, unless Persia is altered much since my day, will easily perceive how much his own character, comfort, reputation, and influence, amongst the Persians, depend upon the hearty and cheerful service of his countrymen in the different lines in which they are employed under him; and it is with feelings of most grateful obligation I now again declare, that the ready, cheerful and willing services I received from every gentleman in my suite, can never, whilst I live, be obliterated from my memory. Some of these excellent persons, unfortunately for the service to which they belonged, and still more unfortunately for their relations and friends, are already gone to where I, in the course of nature, must soon go; but before I go, let me repeat again and again, they were a set of men, for talent, for industry, and for amiable manners, which it would be difficult to find such as could surpass, and not easy to find such as could equal. Poor Captain Christie, and Lieutenant Lindsay, by their indefatigable perseverance had brought, when I left Persia, the one, several of the regiments of the Prince's infantry, and the other, the corps of horse-artillery, considering the shortness of the time they had been employed, to a state

of perfection that was quite astonishing. And what is equally to the credit of those gallant officers, they were both adored by the officers and men under their tuition; though in the beginning they had often been obliged to treat the latter with a degree of severity that could not then have been practised with safety at Constantinople. The Prince Royal, however, had much merit in this respect; for whenever a punishment was inflicted, and complained of to him, he invariably gave the offender a double portion of it, and by this means soon put an end to complaint. My excellent friend, Doctor Cormick, to this day remains the friend, the favorite, the physician, of the Prince Royal.*

When I returned to Tauris, the Prince Royal had moved towards the Caucasian frontier with a very respectable force; and as long as the Shah remained in camp at Oujoon, and the Prince on the frontier, nearly the whole of my time was taken up in riding, as I was called from one camp to the other,—so that if I did possess any influence, it was by no means *sine cura.*

The promised and expected Minister from the Porte arrived in the autumn. I sent the gentle-

* The account of the death of this amiable person and sincere friend came to my knowledge as the sheets were passing through the press. He was sent for to the Prince Royal, who was attacked with the malignant fever, then raging in Persia, was seized with it himself on the road, at a caravanserai, and died without the consolation of one friend or countryman to close his eyes."

men of the Mission and the troop to accompany the Persian Nobleman who was appointed to meet and escort him into Tauris; and the next day I desired to visit him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He was delighted to find a person so well acquainted with what the Turks call "Jaunem Stambole" as I was, and who had lived so long amongst the Osmanlees as I had done; besides, it was a great joy and satisfaction to him, to be able to converse with me in Arabic without the necessity of an interpreter. I had designed to make my visit one of compliment, and very short; but when I got up to depart he begged of me to pass into another room with him. There he spoke of Sir Robert Adair, as I believe every Turk at that time did speak of him, with rapture. He disclosed to me the instructions he had received from his Court on several points of his Mission; and also shewed me a written order addressed to him, that in any case of difficulty or doubt arising, he should apply to me for advice and assistance. All this, most probably, was owing to the good opinion Sir Robert Adair entertained of my proceedings, and consequently of the favorable report he had made of me to the Porte. It was to this gentleman that I thought it my duty, as the Minister of my country, to give a public entertainment, for which the Prince Royal lent me the use of his Palace, a favor which enabled me to render the fête more brilliant, by

illuminations, the exhibition of the best fire-works procurable, by feats of rope dancing and jugglery, and by the presence of

> " Ambubaiarum collegia Pharmacopolæ
> " Mendici, misnæ balatrones—hoc genus omne."

The Effendi was received in the first great square of the palace, by Lieut. Willock's troop, drawn up, with their colours flying; and escorted by them to the place, where he dismounted, under a continued roar of Persian field-pieces and cannon; and though the feast and shows were protracted far beyond midnight, I had the satisfaction next morning to hear, not only that no accident had happened, but also, what was nearly as pleasing, that although there were several hundreds, I believe I may say thousands, of persons of all sorts present, no one went away displeased or dissatisfied.

On the approach of winter, the Shah broke up his camp at Oujoon, and the Prince Royal returned to Tauris. Our winter was passed pretty much in the same manner as the preceding one, except that His Royal Highness invited the Mission to a banquet, which was splendidly conducted. I dispatched Lieut. Willock and the troop to Bushire, to be in readiness whenever Sir Gore Ouseley arrived there, to escort him to the capital; and I left Tauris to be in time (as I thought) to receive my audience of leave of the Shah, and to be present at Tæheran, on the festival of the Nourouze.

Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Cormick, and Sir James Sutherland, the latter of whom wished to go with me to England, were my companions on the journey. By the particular desire of the Prince Royal, and on receiving a very warm invitation from the old Khan, we took the route to Marauga, where we were most hospitably and handsomely entertained by him for several days. The morning on which we left Marauga was gloomy and threatening, and the old Khan pressed and recommended us much to remain with him till we could better judge of what it was likely to turn to; and the more to incline us to this, he told us fearful stories of the horrid snow-storms, to which the country we were to pass,through was subject at that time of year. I had, however, various reasons for wishing to get to Tæheran as soon as possible, and so out we set. Our first day's journey was short, and our resting place at a village of no great consequence; where, however, by order of the Khan, every thing had been most amply provided for our convenience and comfort. When we dismounted, the snow began to fall, and the heavens appeared to be loaded with it: through the night it continued to snow, so that the village was absolutely buried in it; but when the morning broke, there was an intermission. The muleteers, however, were unwilling to proceed, and remonstrated strongly against our doing so, especially as we had to travel something near forty miles to our next stage,

through a country wild and desolate in the extreme; and in which neither lodging nor food could be procured, in case any accident should prevent us reaching the destined place of halt. Under these circumstances, I judged it proper to consult our Mehmandar, who, at first, recommended our return to Marauga, whilst it was in our power; but whilst our conference on the subject lasted, the sky put on a treacherous appearance, and it was agreed to proceed. Now, let me record it to the honor of these poor villagers, that though our long stay there would have been most costly and cumbersome to them, they were full as loud as the muleteers in expressing their advice against our departure under such appearances.

More time, however, than ought to have been, was spent in getting ready; for we had to do with some persons who thought if they could protract our departure to a certain period of the day, there was a great chance that it might be given up altogether. It was evident, therefore, when we started, that if our day's march was as fortunate as we could wish or expect, still it must train into two or three hours of the night before it was finished. For some time the sun shone, and every thing went on prosperously; but a little after he had passed the meridian, the weather changed to the most dreadful appearance I ever witnessed; the snow began to fall in flakes so large and so thick, that it was impossible to per-

ceive any thing distinctly at the distance of thirty yards, and with this arose a most bitter cold wind, which seemed to play along the surface of the snow lying on the ground, for no other purpose than that of detaching from it small minute particles, to hurl unceasingly in our faces. It was soon found, or rather suspected, that we had lost the road, and of course now commenced great confusion, and the unreserved expression of a variety of conflicting opinions; the baggage mules sunk in the snow, and the horses often plunged deep in it; so that the muleteers had often great difficulty to extricate the one, and the riders were obliged to dismount to extricate the other; the cold became intense, and most piercing, and it was evident that without some great effort, we were destined to pass the night in the open air, and if so, many of us, probably, to perish. Every one now pretended to advise, and the muleteers were loud, and unqualified, in their curses and reprobations of our temerity. I called the Mehmandar to me, and asked him if he knew any thing of the direction of the road, and what was his opinion of our situation, and whether it were possible to regain the village we had left. As to the first he professed complete ignorance, as to the second, he said he thought it nearly as bad as it could be; and as to the last, we were just as likely to reach the place we were going to, as to regain the village we had left; with this difference,—that

at the first we should find every thing prepared for our comfort, and that at the last we should find nothing. In proceeding forward, however, there was one consideration that was more seriously alarming than any other; it was, that between us and our proposed halting place, there ran a brook, which, probably, before we reached it, would be covered over with snow; that the banks of it, in all places, except at the proper ford, were abrupt and high, and the water, in many of the pools into which it was gathered, was deep enough to drown horse and man, and that it was quite certain the night would be fully shut in before we could reach the valley through which it ran. I now assembled the whole party, and asked if there was any one amongst them who would undertake to guide us to our halting place; promising him who undertook it, if he was successful, a very handsome reward. A servant of the Mehmandar came forward, and said he had frequently travelled the road, that he believed us to be then out of it, but that if he was not interfered with, he thought he should be able to regain it; and if, before it was quite dark, he could arrive at, or be able distinctly to see a certain *teppeh* or mound, he had no doubt of being able to cross the brook in perfect safety, and consequently to conduct us at last to our lodgings. On hearing this, I made the Mehmandar proclaim, that the next person who presumed to put forth an opinion about the road, or attempted

to interfere with the guide, should be knocked off his horse into the snow, and I afterwards desired him to place his servant at the head of the line of our march.

A short time after this, I became exceedingly alarmed on account of Mr. Sheridan; his health at all times was none of the strongest, and having dropped into the rear, for the purpose of speaking to one of my servants, when I rejoined him he complained to me of being extremely sleepy, begged of me to let him stay where he was, and take his chance, for he found it impossible to proceed farther without rest. I knew too well what this portended, and I agreed with Sir James Sutherland to take him between us, and never lose sight of him till the end of our journey, being well convinced that if he got out of our sight, he would get off his horse, would lie down, and if it were only for a few minutes, he would never arise from the place alive. The night was now closing apace; it had been agreed with the guide, who had gone a good way ahead, that whenever he saw the teppeh or mound, he should telegraph it to us, by putting his shawl on the point of his spear, and waving it:—a very few minutes more, and the signal, if he was fortunate enough to see the wished-for mark, would be impossible to be discerned by us, and a very few minutes after that, would render it impossible for the guide to discern the teppeh, even if he were

close at it. Our progress against all the impediments we had to contend with, was awfully slow; the peril of our situation increased; I therefore proposed to the muleteers to abandon fourteen of the heaviest laden baggage mules, and to indemnify them for their loss; and to this it is probable we all owed our lives. I had strained my eyes for some time to the front without success, and had turned my head towards the rear, repeating to myself:—"He dies, and makes no signal—O God "forgive him!" when Sir James Sutherland called out:—"There is the shawl waving." We soon came up with this worthy person; he carried us across the brook in safety, and about one o'clock in the morning, having for some little time before discovered the lights which the villagers kept burning for us, we entered the village; but it was as much as some of the horses could do to reach it; and had it been situated a couple of miles more distant, they must have failed. It was our original intention to have rested here but a night, but the condition in which men and animals had reached it, rendered a full week's rest necessary before we could proceed on our journey. During this time, camels were dispatched to bring in the baggage left on the mules; the poor animals were found dead on the spot where we were compelled to abandon them, and their carcases were half devoured by the wolves. They had been seen at a distance by some one searching for lost cattle, and

a report had been forwarded to the Shah, that the English Minister and his companions had lost their lives in the snow. My own, and the Mehmandar's dispatches, however, to Meerza Sheffee, reached Tæheran the day after this report was circulated in the city.

In due time we reached Tæheran, without any other accident worth notice, except that which took place at the little town of Sugs-e-bad, where in consequence of the rapacity and ill-behaviour of some of the Persians of the party, we were all of us very near being knocked on the head; the whole town having risen up against us. On this occasion, the Mehmandar behaved with equal spirit and judgment; and the next morning, when the town's people had cooled, and had had time to reflect on the nature of the scrape they had gotten into by insulting me, who was perfectly innocent of any offence towards them, they crowded, on my departure, round my horse, begging me to intercede with the Shah for their pardon, which I did; but so good an opportunity of levying a good round fine was not permitted to escape, and with this, I believe, they congratulated themselves on escaping the *felek** and the gallows, which some of them were not far short of deserving, for in the course of the contest severe wounds had been inflicted. The people of this little town are notori-

* The sort of stocks in which the feet are confined when a culprit receives the bastinado on the soles of the feet.

ously turbulent and ill-conditioned, and from that circumstance their town has obtained the name of Sugs-e-bad, that is, the " habitation of dogs.".

Meerza Bozurg had been for some time at Tæheran, and he had been kind enough to prepare lodgings for me in a part of his own house. The day after my arrival, the Shah sent for me, and conversed with me on a great variety of topics, generally relating to himself and family. Shortly after this, Meerza Bozurg came to me one evening, and told me he was commanded by the Shah to communicate his Majesty's desire to be informed, as to what would be most acceptable and agreeable to me in the way of presents, and pressed me very much to accept of the badge of the Lion and the Sun, which he told me should be prepared as rich and as handsome as if it were for the Shah himself. I told the Meerza, that with regard to the first, the smallest token of the Shah's esteem I should highly prize ; that with regard to the last, I had before declined it, and received what my Sovereign had now graciously permitted me to accept and use, and which would always remain in my family as a mark of the Shah's favor, and that, therefore, I again begged the Shah's permission to decline receiving the badge of the Lion and the Sun—that I believed it was customary for persons in my situation, on signing treaties between their Sovereign and foreign potentates, to receive a complimentary present, which, I also

believed, generally consisted of a snuff-box; and that as he, the Meerza, knew very well I was anything but rich, it would be more convenient and agreeable to me to receive in money, than in any other shape. The Meerza replied, all this the Shah knows, but it is his wish to do something more for you. About three days after this, Meerza Sheffee sent me word that he was commanded by the Shah to pay me a visit in the evening, and at the breaking up of the evening court, both himself and Meerza Bozurg came to me.

Meerza Sheffee, after a very flattering peroration on my behaviour, conduct, and services in Persia, said, that the Shah having understood from Meerza Bozurg that I was not rich, had determined to send me the next day twenty thousand tomans, nearly twenty thousand pounds. If the roof of the house had fallen, I could not have been more surprised or more put off my guard than I was at this unexpected announcement; and before I could either recover myself or reply, Meerza Bozurg seized my hand and warmly pressed me to accept the Shah's most magnificent gift. At last I said, "My dear good friends! what you "have just told me of the Shah's generous inten- "tions towards me, seems so extraordinary that I "can hardly credit it:"—here Meerza Sheffee took me up with some warmth, and said, "*Wullah!* "*Wullah!*—by God, by God,—*Reeshcund ne mee* "*koonem*,—I am not joking,—*een pool der Kezeh*

" *guszashtand ve mohur kerdaiand*—the money is " already put up in bags and sealed." I said, " my " dear Meerza, you mistake me—what I said does " not proceed from any doubt of the Shah's noble " and generous nature, with which I am most " thoroughly acquainted, but from my own con- " sciousness of having done nothing to merit so " signal a mark of his munificence—but *goush* " *koon*, (*i. e.* give ear) you are both of you men " of honor, and, therefore, know that good cha- " racter is preferable to gold. But of Meerza " Bozurg, when I was a youth, I learnt much, " and saw in him enough to admire; but there " was no part of his character I more admired, or " have more attempted to imitate, than his con- " sistent independence and singleness of heart as " to riches.* If the master, therefore, professed " to be, and remains, a *derveish*, does it become " the pupil to wish for more than the master? " besides, recollect, I have negociated and signed " a treaty with the Shah, the nature of which, " were I now to accept such a gift from His Ma- " jesty, would afford room and cause enough for " my enemies to traduce me, my friends to blame " me, and my conscience to accuse me to my " dying hour of rashly putting *my honour* " on " my sleeve for daws to peck at." It is very true

* " From thee that bosom spring of rapture flows,
" Which only virtue, tranquil virtue, knows."

Rogers' Pleasures of Memory.

" I am not rich, but since I have been with you, " I have had an unexpected increase of fortune " by the death of my wife's father; and besides " all this, I will not permit myself to doubt that " I shall not, on my return to England, be em- " ployed in some way or other advantageous to " me." Both these Ministers continued to press the matter upon me; but when Meerza Sheffee left the room, Meerza Bozurg got up, embraced me, and said, " Azeerem! my dear, you have acted " like yourself, and the Shah will now see how well " I knew you, and what a man he has had to deal " with, for I told him you never would consent to " receive the money." On my return to England, I communicated this circumstance to one dear, lamented, and most honoured friend, who advised me, as matters stood, to say nothing about it; but added, " had our common friends, Henry Lord " Melville and Sir Francis Baring, being alive, I " would have advised you to communicate it to " them." The next day, one of the King's favorite Georgians brought me one thousand tomans in lieu of the snuff-box, and a piece of jewellery which the Shah had once worn in his cap, with a patent authorising me to wear it in Persia in my hat. This sort of aigraffe makes a considerable shew, and may be worth from 2 to 300*l.* I now ventured to make a request to the Shah, which was, that he would honour me so far as to give me one of the Chook-e-Bauroonee's* which he had

* Literally, Cloaks against rain.

worn, and particularly desired it might be one without the gold aigraffe.

In the evening, Meerza Bozurg informed me, the Shah had determined to send me next morning one of his Cashmere shawl cloaks, with a diamond loop. I besought the Meerza to prevent this, as all I wished was something which was of little value in itself, but would be of the highest value to me, as having been once on his Majesty's person. On the day after this, the Shah, to the surprise and astonishment of every body, appeared at the morning court in a common *Chookee Bauroonee*, and after sitting in it for some time, he took it from his shoulders, and calling to Meerza Bozurg, said: "take this, as a mark of my highest favor, "to your friend the English Minister." This cloak is now at Boultibrooke, but greatly injured, by having been some time under water, in consequence of the loss of *La Pomone*. The Persians are frequently represented as greedy, mean, and craving,—all that I can say is, from first to last, in twenty-seven years' acquaintance with them, they were never such to me; and that if I had chosen to have done so, I might have returned to England laden with presents from all sorts of persons.

January the 8th, 1834. I had just written the last words of the foregoing paragraph, when the *Hereford Journal*, published this day, is put into my hands; there is an article in it containing the account of the death of Abbas Meerza, the Prince Royal, at Persia. I hope I shall not be accused

of affectation, if I say I read this with sincere and deep sorrow. I received from His Royal Highness one uniform succession of the kindest acts of attention; I was admitted by him to a degree of intimacy, in which, when we were by ourselves, all etiquette and restraint were set aside; and, consequently, I became acquainted with his many and great virtues, as well as with his ability and nobleness of mind.* He was, when I left Persia, in 1811, the hope and pride of his country; and his death happening before that of his father, will probably be followed by political changes of the utmost importance.

To return to where I broke off. The Shah, at my next audience, asked me if I had any curiosity to see his collection of jewels, which, he said, as he had been given to understand I had formerly dealt pretty largely in such articles, might afford me some pleasure. The crown of Persia, the state

* I saw His Royal Highness on different occasions, the best personification of Vernon's description of *Harry of Monmouth* my eyes ever beheld:—

——————" all furnished, all in arms,
" All plumed;— * * *
" Glittering in golden coats, like images;
" As full of spirit as the month of May,
" And gorgeous as the sun at Midsummer.
* * * * *
" I saw young (Abbas,) with his beaver on,
" His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,—
* * * * *
" And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
" As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
" To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
" And witch the world with noble horsemanship."

shield, the state dagger, sword and mace, (as far as I now recollect) where shewn to me and the gentlemen who accompanied me to Tæheran; the remainder of the royal jewels were shewn to me, in company with Meerza Bozurg, in a private room of the palace. The crown is very heavy, indeed; but no doubt the weight of it might be considerably diminished, were the jewels which compose a part of it, reset by skilful European workmen. Many of the stones are of a very large size,—but these, generally speaking, are more or less affected by imperfections, either in the water, color, or by flaws: but there are quantities of middle-sized stones, that is, from twenty to forty carats, which are, perhaps, the finest specimens in the world. The pearls employed round the edge of the crown, if their number be considered, are quite wonderful,—and may, certainly, be pronounced unmatchable; and the one on which the poet Saadi has founded a fable, stands by itself. It must be admitted, however, that on some of the pearls, age has had the effect which it always will have on this species of jewellery. The shield, the dagger, the sword, and the mace, correspond in value, beauty, and richness of display, with the crown. On state occasions, such as the audience of ambassadors, &c., the shield, the mace, and the sword, are borne by the side of the *Takht*, or throne, on which the Shah sits, by three of the handsomest Georgian Gholaums, whose dresses on

this occasion glitter with gold and precious stones. —In viewing the jewels shewn to me, with Meerza Bozurg, we met with our old acquaintances, the Bazubunds, which had belonged to Lutf Ally Khan, and which are spoken of in my first volume. Amongst the others, I was particularly struck with what I know not how to give the reader an idea of, but by calling it the King's Tippet, as it is a covering for part of his back, his shoulders, and his arms, which is only used on the very highest occasions. It is a piece of pearl-work of the most beautiful pattern; the pearls are worked on velvet, but they stand so close together that little, if any, of the velvet is visible. It took me a good hour to examine this single article, which I have no fear of saying cannot be matched in the world. There was not a single pearl employed in forming this most gorgeous trapping, less in size than the largest marrow-fat pea I ever saw raised in England,—and many, I should suppose from a hundred and fifty to two hundred, the size of that sort of wild plum which is known in the country by the name of bullison,—and throughout the whole of these pearls, it would puzzle the best jeweller who should examine them most critically, to discover in more than four or five, a serious fault. The tassel, which on such occasions is appended to the state dagger, is formed of pearls of the most uncommon size and beauty; and the emerald which forms

the top of the tassel, is perhaps the largest perfect one in the world,—it is indeed a jewel one cannot look on without admiration at its colour and brilliancy. In short, the exhibition was such, as safely to be pronounced unique; but it must not be forgotten to be mentioned that it contained no ruby, above thirteen carats, which could pretend to be deemed perfect; and notwithstanding all that has been said of the very large perfect rubies in the possession of the Rajah of Pegu, and the King of Ceylon, I do believe there never has been one in the world, of this description, that much exceeded this weight, except the Abdul Hassance, the fate of which is narrated in a note in my first volume. For some days after I had seen these jewels, I attempted to make an estimate of their value, but I got so much confused in the recollection of their weight, and the allowance to be made in some of them for their imperfection in water and colour, that I gave it up as impossible. I cannot, however, think I shall much mislead the reader if I say, that on a moderate, perhaps a low, calculation, their value cannot be less than fifteen* millions of our money. The

* It appears from Fraser's Life of Nadir Shah, that he carried away from Delhi, jewels, from the Emperor and Omrahs, to the amount of twenty-five crores of rupees; utensils and handles of weapons, set with jewels, with the peacock throne, and nine others, set with precious stones, amounting to nine crores; total amount of crores of rupees, thirty-four; which, according to him, would then have made forty-two millions sterling. I am convinced, therefore, I have not exaggerated the value of the jewels shewn me at Tæheran.

next time I had an audience of the Shah, he paid me the compliment I have already related,* and asked me what I thought of the collection on the whole. "Please your Majesty," said I, "all the time I "was viewing it, I could not help thinking myself "in Alladeen's garden."† "Aye, aye," replied the Shah, laughing, "it is worth while to shew you "these sort of things,—you are a judge of them."

Every thing having been now arranged for my return to Tauris, the Shah gave me my official audience of leave; at which he delivered to me a letter for the King, in which he told me he had strongly recommended me to the favor of my Sovereign, and had expressed his wish that in every transaction which might take place hereafter, between England and Persia, as far as it

* See note in the first vol.

† "He then came down from the terrace, and stopped in the "garden to examine the fruit, which he had only seen for an in- "stant as he passed along. The trees of this garden were all "full of the most extraordinary fruit. Each tree bore a sort of "different color. Some were white, others sparkling and trans- "parent like crystal; some were red, and of different shades; "others green, blue, violet, some of a yellowish hue, in short, "almost of every color. The white were pearls, the sparkling "and transparent were diamonds, the deep red were rubies, "the pale a particular sort of ruby, called *Bahais*; the green, "emeralds; the blue, turquois; the violet, amethysts; those "tinged with yellow, topazes; in the same manner, all the "other colored fruits were varieties of precious stones; and the "whole of them were of the largest size, and more perfect than "any that were ever seen in the world."—*Arabian Nights, Story of Alladeen.*

respected the latter, my opinion should be asked and considered as his own. The next day, the Shah sent me a letter addressed to the Chairman of the East India Company. The Ministers now all paid me a visit of ceremony, which I returned, and the day was fixed for my departure. In the evening of the preceding day, between the morning and evening courts, I received the Shah's commands to repair to the Palace, on reaching which, I was admitted to his presence in a room which formed one side of a small quadrangular court, and I found Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg in attendance. His Majesty told me as it was most probable we should never meet again, he had sent for me once more before I left Tæheran. The Shah then began to talk to me in such terms, both of himself and myself, that I could stand it no longer, and I burst into tears, and Meerza Bozurg fairly sobbed aloud. In the middle of all this, to my infinite surprise, I found the Shah's hand on my shoulder, and heard him say in an indistinct voice, "Go,—God go with you, prosper you, and protect you!" The Shah instantly left the room through one door, and the Meerzas and myself left it by an opposite one.

Everything being settled, we commenced our journey of return to Tauris, where Meerza Bozurg promised to be, very shortly after we should arrive. We took the common route from Tæheran to Tauris, and, in consequence, passed through Mianeh,

which is said to be afflicted with an insect of the bug kind, called in Persia *milleh*, whose bite is so extremely venomous, as generally to endanger life. I do not mean to say such an insect may not, or does not exist, but I do mean to say that accidents from them must be very uncommon ; for I visited Mianeh very often, and frequently passed the night under no very new roof, and with rather a numerous set of attendants, and no accident ever happened to any of us ; besides which, I offered a pretty considerable premium to any person who would bring me one of these insects, alive or dead, without success. Sir William Ouseley states himself to have been more fortunate in this respect; but he also states another circumstance, on which, I must say, his informant wished to practise on his credulity ; namely, that " it was related (to him) " that a servant of Sir Harford Jones had died in " consequence of their bites," since no one about, or belonging to me, ever met with such a fate,—at least if it did, it never came to my knowledge. I cannot help also remarking, that there appears a material difference between the insect which Sir William says he kept " in brown paper for some weeks and then lost," and the insect described to me by the Persians, who uniformly represented the milleh as more approaching to the millipedes, or wood louse, than the bug. The stories told by the Persians (particularly the lower classes) about the fatal bite of this insect, are awful, and quite enough to disturb at Mianeh the rest of a strong-

hearted person, and I was by such persons considered as committing the act of a madman, when I insisted on having a light at night in my sleeping-room at Mianeh. I was, as Sir William Ouseley appears to have been, extremely anxious to possess a specimen of these much-talked about insects, and when I found money could not procure me one, I applied for the interference of Meerza Hassan, the minister of the province, but still without success. I conversed with Meerza Bozurg on the subject, who said he had often heard of the milleh, but never had seen the insect; had often heard of death being inflicted by its bite, but had never witnessed it, or received a credible account of its having taken place from such cause; but added, "several of my servants, at various "times, have been bitten by some insect at Mia-"neh, which has, for a time, caused them almost "intolerable pain, and been attended by high "fever." I can safely say, that at Bagdad and other places, I have often and often witnessed the various effects which the insertion, by bite or sting, of the venomous secretion of different reptiles and insects, have produced on different persons; and I well remember a servant of my own, at Bagdad, nearly losing his life by the sting of a hornet, which, though painful enough for a time, is seldom attended with any danger of life. I have, therefore, settled my belief on the subject of the milleh to be, that there is at Mianeh a venomous insect, very rarely found, whose bite, to those of a bad

habit of body, does occasion serious inconveniences, particularly when it obliges the patient, for the cure of it, "to be sewed up in a cow's hide."*

We passed through Zengan, where there was stationed a little *Shah-zadeh*, or Prince, about nine years old; he received us with great state, and acted the Prince with laughable solemnity. He afterwards sent me, by his lala, an invitation to sup with him. I asked this gentleman, before I gave an answer, if it was designed the Prince should be present. He said, "No;" on which I said, "Please to make my humble respects to the "Prince, and tell him I must decline to accept his "invitation." The lala appeared amazed, and said:—"The fire-works are prepared, the tumblers, "jugglers, &c. are commanded, and the viands in "progress of preparation."—"All this may be very "true," I replied, "but there is one thing wanting "to induce me to witness the one, or partake of "the other—that is, the presence of the Prince; I "cannot be the guest of an invisible host." The Meerza left me apparently much out of humour, and I was surprised, in about a couple of hours afterwards, to find he had returned to say the Prince had altered his mind, and would sup with us. The entertainment was like all other Persian entertainments, but the self-possession, courtly behaviour, and phrases, of the little boy, were remarkable enough.

* See Sir William Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol.

On my return to Tauris I commenced closing every thing I had now to do with the Mission, and I was glad to learn that Meerza Bozurg arrived there shortly after me. I had, as I thought, reason to hope that I might enjoy a week or two of ease and comfort before my departure for England, but in this I reckoned without my host; for an accident took place which might have led to serious consequences, if Meerza Bozurg had not been returned, or if I had left the city.

With the guns and stores sent from Bengal, there was also sent a storekeeper, a very ingenious and useful man, in his way. Upon (I recollect not now what) a quarrel between this person and a Persian in the market, the one drew his sword, and the other his poignard, and the Persian received a severe wound. The storekeeper was immediately seized by the Persian bystanders, and carried off, and the first intimation I had of the business, was from a servant of Meerza Bozurg's desiring me to come to the Meerza's house without delay. I was at first apprehensive something had happened to the Meerza, but the man, in the way there, told me the Meerza was very well, and desired to see me in the little room I have formerly described. On entering, I perceived the Meerza to be in considerable agitation, and he immediately not only acquainted me with all that had happened, but that all the moollahs and men of the law at Tauris, were assembled in another

part of the house, and were loud and clamorous for the immediate punishment of the storekeeper, in consequence of the Persian's wound being so severe as to be considered mortal. After consulting with the Meerza, it was agreed that we should both of us proceed together to the room in which the men of the law, and the men of the church, were assembled.

Immediately on our entrance, unawed by the presence of Meerza Bozurg, they began to talk to me in a very high tone, saying:—"That if the "Shah chose to bring infidels to wound and "murder the faithful, *they* would not suffer it," and a great deal of that sort of stuff; and claiming also that the storekeeper should instantly suffer capital punishment, for drawing the blood of a Mohammedan, whether the wound were mortal or not. I permitted every one of them to talk as long and as loud as they pleased, and I then said:—

"Gentlemen!" no one can lament more than I "do, the accident which has happened; nobody can "be less willing to screen a culprit than I am;—but "I have a duty to perform,—I am here represent- "ing the King of England, and the man is an "Englishman; therefore, the first thing I have to "do, (mind I neither say he is guilty or not guilty) "but the first thing I have to do, is to demand "that he be delivered into my hands; and, to cut "the business short, I tell you at once, if this is "denied, I will use every means in my power to

" release him by force, if necessary, even if I " perish in the attempt. It is beneath me to reply " to all the nonsense you have been talking about " the Shah, and our coming here, though I shall " certainly report your words to His Majesty, but " if you have any sense, you must know, that we " come here to assist you, to serve you, and I will " add, to instruct you: and if you, gentlemen, are " dull enough not to comprehend this, the Shah " and his Ministers are not.

" In what part of the world is it that an accident " of this sort might not have happened? Where " is the security, that if Persians and Englishmen " serve together, it may not happen again? Much " as we must all lament the circumstance, it is " now our duty to make use of it so far as to lay " down certian rules, as guides for our conduct on " future occasions, of this sort, if such should un- " fortunately (which I hope not) happen.

" I will begin by distinctly declaring to you, " that for certain crimes, I consider all foreigners " to be amenable to the laws of the country in " which they reside, and as I know enough of the " Mohammedan law, to know, that by it, accurate " distinction is made between *murder, man-* " *slaughter*, and *justifiable homicide*, I conceive " there can be but little difficulty or discussion as " to the mode of our proceeding in the present " case; I only claim to have the custody of my " countryman till his trial, to be present at the

" examination of all the witnesses, to have the
" power of re-examining them before the judges,
" and to have their depositions taken down in
" writing; these are things which I think, for
" your own credit, you will consent to. You
" have two distinct modes of trial, *the Shahr* and
" *the Ourf.* It shall be at the choice of the
" plaintiff whether Persian or English, to choose
" which of these he will adopt, but having made
" his election, he shall not afterwards change it.
" If the former be adopted, the cause shall be tried
" before the highest local, legal authorities, or, if
" demanded, by either party, before the highest
" legal authority at the capital;—if the latter be
" adopted, it shall be either before the governor of
" the town or province, or, on the demand of
" either party, before the Shah himself; and in all
" these cases, the Ambassador, if he chooses, shall
" either be present, or shall appoint a person to
" be present, on his part, who shall have the
" full power of speaking on all points which he
" may judge proper; and in the event of an En-
" glishman being condemned, I claim the privilege
" that the execution of the sentence be transferred
" to me, or my successor, with a proviso, however,
" *that one person* belonging to the Government,
" may be present to see that it is performed; but
" if the Ambassador can agree with the plaintiff
" for the price of blood, he shall be able to do so."

Though I suffered frequent interruptions, I was

heard with more patience than I expected, and the first symptom that I had made any impression, was the dispatch of an order that the storekeeper should be sent to my house; and after a little time I got these fanatic gentlemen, by the assistance of Meerza Bozurg, to acknowledge that what I proposed was reasonable and proper, and strictly agreeable to law. Perhaps this assent was more easily obtained, when in a cooler temper they recollected that the whole of their first tirade to me, was not exactly of a nature that they would be very willing should be literally reported to the Shah, for they had certainly (to say nothing worse of it) spoken very disrespectfully of His Majesty.

On my return home, I had the pleasure to find the wound of the Persian had been greatly exaggerated, and that he was not in the least danger from it; and the still greater pleasure, on questioning the storekeeper, to find that he was by no means so much in fault as the moollah had represented him to be; in short, if he had used a stick instead of a sword, I should rather have applauded than reprimanded him, as he received much provocation, and the Persian was the first to display his weapon.

It is the custom in Persia to soil the horses in the spring of the year. Several fine *chemens*, or meadows, in different parts of the kingdom, are appropriated for receiving the royal stud; and the horses of Ministers and other great men, are gene-

rally sent to such of their friends as are governors of provinces or districts, which possess pasturage fit for that purpose;—those persons who have not the advantage of doing this, purchase green meat for their horses, and at that time of year quantities of this are daily brought into most towns and cities in the empire, in the shape of green barley, trefoil, lucerne, and spring grasses, and sold at very moderate and reasonable rates. Thirty days is the usual time to keep a horse on this sort of food, during which he is never worked, and at the end of it, he is considered to have been freed from all impurities in his blood, and is then carried to the *hummum*, or hot bath, to be cleansed of his outward impurities. My horses, except such as I had used on my journey to Tæheran, had been received and put to grass by my worthy village-friends at Tikmedash, who now brought them into Tauris in the highest condition. The expressions of these persons, on my approaching departure, were strong, and I have every reason to believe they were sincere, at least, I know those which I made to them in return were so; and, in a letter which I received from my lamented friend, Mr. Sheridan, after my arrival in England, he informed me he had been to pass a day or two amongst them, and that they spoke of me, to him, with the greatest affection. Shenstone says:—

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
"Where'er his stages may have been,
"May sigh to think he still has found,
"The warmest welcome at an inn."

How far this satirical observation of the poet is true, I will leave others to determine, but I can safely say, that having now travelled "life's dull "round" for seventy years, the transactions of sixty of which I can well remember "the kindliest wel- "comes," generally speaking, which I have received, have been from and amongst the lower and middling classes of society. "'Tis true, 'tis "pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true," that most of us as we advance in rank, wealth, and prosperity, become more selfish and more hard-hearted; and there are some, I fear, who attain this odious disposition to so great a degree of perfection, and "make such sinners of their memories as to credit their own lie," and consider themselves as being made of different materials to their neighbours; but whatever they may think, "there in their fore- "head sits a bare-ribb'd death," who is so "fell a "serjeant," so "strict in his arrest,"—and so unmannerly in the execution of his warrant, that he takes no heed to the lamentations of the proud, nor to the supplications of the poor.*

I trust the coarse, but warm and genuine, hospitality and kindness of these worthy villagers will never depart from my memory, nor that I shall ever forget the first invitation I received to their

* "This is a true saying,"—"For who maketh thee to differ from "another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? *now*, "*if thou didst receive it*, why dost *thou glory* as if thou hadst not "received it?"

roof, for it is recorded in words which, I pity him who has once read, if he ever forgets them :—

" Hic tamen hanc mecum poteris requiescere noctem
" Fronde super virdi—sunt nobis *milia poma*
" *Castaneæ molles*, et *pressi copia lactis*
" Et jam summa procul villarum culmina fumant
" *Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbra.*

I have already said more, perhaps, about myself than may be agreeable to the reader, and, therefore, I will cut short my parting with Abbas Meerza; and confine myself to saying, that His Royal Highness presented me with a very handsome diamond snuff-box, presented to him by the Grand Seignor, and a beautiful Cashmire shawl cloak, taken off his own shoulders :—that he put under my care, to proceed to England, two Persian youths, of good families, to be educated there and instructed; the one, in medicine and astronomy, the other, in painting; and that if his good wishes and recommendations had prevailed, they would have left me nothing to desire.

It was a matter of heartfelt concern to me, to see the effect the loss of his son, Meerza Hassan, was daily producing in the appearance and mind of Meerza Bozurg, and I am certain that nothing but his devotion to Abbas Meerza, whom he had educated from a child, and his attachment to the Shah, prevented him from withdrawing from the world altogether. I have heard many persons, on various occasions of disappointment, talk very

finely, but I have never seen a man who so practically put *accident* and the world at defiance to ruffle him, as Meerza Bozurg. His manners corresponded with his professions, they were simple and noble; and without the advantage of a good figure, and with very weak eyes, there was something about him irresistible. Deeply acquainted with the Persian and Arabic languages, and the learning of his country and of the East, a warm admirer and thorough master of its poetry, and liberal in his opinions, *he was* an accomplished Persian gentleman. He had seen all that Persia could shew of life, from the highest to the lowest turns of fortune; and he had borne great prosperity and the bitterest adversity with equal indifference. His quickness and observation soon enabled him to discover whether the person he was conversing with was intimately acquainted with the subject on which he talked; if he was, the Meerza never ceased to get from him as much information as he could; if he was not, the Meerza troubled him but little afterwards with questions, or with much more than general conversation. To the truth of this, I am sure, many of the French gentlemen who were in Persia, and Colonel Sutherland, will vouch. His affection for his old friends in Farsistan and at Schyras never varied,—and especially for such of them as had been the servants, or in the employ of the Zund Princes, it was warm, sincere and uniform; and for many of these

he had exerted himself in such a manner, that with a sovereign less aware of his merit than Fath Ally Shah, it might have brought his loyalty to the reigning family under suspicion. During the time of Hajee Ibrahim's power, nothing could prevail on Meerza Bozurg to court him, or to speak of him with common temper and patience; whilst that treacherous scoundrel neither feared nor courted any man in the empire so much as Meerza Bozurg.

I hope I am sincerely attached to the religion taught me in my infancy; and this, upon a conviction of its beauty and holiness, brought about by such an examination of its doctrines as my engagements and small ability has allowed; and strange as it may appear, I sincerely believe, only with a more acute mind, this to have been the case with Meerza Bozurg—how far with this excellent person it might have remained the case, if he had the advantage of being acquainted with the dead, and some of the living, languages of Europe, it would be presumption in me to say, and folly to guess. Our differences in faith never made a difference in our friendship, and I am unwilling to believe there was any person out of his own family that he had a greater affection for than myself. His presents to me on our parting were singular; the words by which he accompanied these were still more singular. "I give you my "two prayer-carpets, because they are perfectly

" *halaul,** and because ever since you have been " in Persia, whenever upon them I have entreated " for any person the divine favor, your name has " always been mentioned. I give you this little " bowl of Tuteneg, because you have a journey " to make in hot weather, and throughout this " you will have daily occasion for this bowl to " drink water, and when you do drink, it will re- " mind you of me. I give you a shawl, the best " *we* have, which has been worn by Hassan's mo- " ther, and which I desire may be worn by the " mother of your lately born son. I give you " this box of the true Moomiahyah, which I got " on purpose for you from the Shah, in case you " should meet with an accident on the road." Reader, let me not know that you think the diamonds and money I had received more valuable than these simple gifts of the Meerza, for if you do, I fear I shall not think the better of you afterwards;—for my own part, some of them

" Inspoliata feram tremulo."†

The Turkish Minister, Abdul Wahib Effendi, having finished, to his satisfaction, the business on which he was deputed, and hearing that my departure for Constantinople was soon to take

* Lawfully obtained.

† For I regard them as memorials of

" —— Those loved companions of my youth,
" When life was luxury, and friendship truth.
Rogers's Pleasures of Memory.

place, expressed a wish that we should travel together. To this proposition I readily consented, and I believe by so doing I had an opportunity of paying the Effendi very acceptable attentions. He confessed to me that when the Mission was first proposed to him at Constantinople, he had no great wish to accept it, as he had heard enough to alarm him, as to the manner in which orthodox Musselmans were treated in Persia, and added, "I "have been agreeably disappointed, and have "passed my time as pleasantly as I could have "wished, for much of which I believe I may "thank Meerza Bozurg and yourself." He was a very amiable person; and I am bound to say, that in my opinion the Ministers at the Porte, in employing him, made a very judicious selection. He told me that the only person he had met with in Persia, who had attempted to draw him into a religious discussion was the Shaik-us-Sàlam, at Tauris, but "you know," said he, "the moollahs "are the rudest and greatest blockheads in Tur-"key, and so I suppose they are in Persia."

Before I commence my journey, I would willingly put down a few scattered observations on general subjects, which though perhaps of no great worth, may not be displeasing. I have purposely omitted particular descriptions of different cities and buildings, which I visited, and of the prospects which, in the course of my journey presented themselves to my view, because there

are books enough on the subject already; and I honestly avow I have never, from the mere verbal description of any person, been able to form more than a very confused and imperfect idea of a landscape, so that I am not vain enough to suppose that I possess a talent which I cannot discover in persons of greater and better ability than myself. I will go farther even than this, and declare, that such is the dullness of my perception, that I have often visited places with a plate in my hand, professing to be a sketch or view of such places, and have been much puzzled to find out the similitude of the one to the other, unless there happened to be a mountain, the shape of which could not well be altered, or a dome which the artist had compunction of conscience enough not to turn into a square tower. That there are numberless beautiful and picturesque views in Persia, there is no doubt; but the want of wood and water, two essential requisites to constitute perfect scenery, is generally a great drawback to the pleasures these views afford: and I think whoever has travelled through Persia, and various parts of Anatolia, as I have done, will feel what I felt, the infinite superiority of the latter in richness, in beauty, in grandeur of parts, and in picturesqueness.

I have not attempted to give an estimate, much less an account of the Revenue of the Persian Empire, because I would not willingly mislead, and

because Meerza Bozurg told me its amount varied every year very considerably. He also said, the accounts delivered into the Royal Treasury are so confused and perplexed, that were they even laid before me, I should not be able to come to an accurate, and consequently satisfactory, result. All, therefore, I learnt from him was, that the present system of collection was bad, and ought to be changed; that the system of *sader* or "re-"quisition," and *peishcush* was worse, and ought to be abolished; and that the sums which annually passed into the provincial treasuries, (except that of Azarbaijan, which exhibited a deficit) and from them paid into the Royal treasury, were sufficient to defray the expenses of those provinces, and the general disbursements of the Empire; and in most years produced also a surplus, so that the treasury at Tæheran had been for some years in a state of accumulation, but to what amount, the Meerza either could not, or (which I scarcely believe) would not inform me.

Sir John Malcolm states the amount of the fixed revenue of Persia at about three millions sterling;* and he thinks the Revenue collected under the

* "Darius Hystaspes divided Persia into twenty Satrapes, or "Governments; and, according to the authority of Herodotus, "he fixed its revenue at an amount equal to £2,807,437 of our "money, a sum which Dr. Robertson deems so small as to be al-"most irreconcilable with the many facts concerning the mines, "magnificence, and luxury of the East. The learned historian "would be surprised to learn that this amount *corresponds almost* "*to a fraction* with the revenue which is at this moment collected

Ourf may be as much more, making together six millions; and he has accompanied this assertion with a great deal of very amusing detail, which I strongly recommend the reader who has a taste for political economy, to consult, and then if he does not come to the same conclusion that I do, and which it appears, Meerza Bozurg did, I shall be surprised; namely, that from the very circumstances Sir John states, it is impossible to put down any fixed sum as being the amount of the Persian Revenue. It is enough for us to know that at the time I left Persia, and I believe at the present moment, she has no public debt, and that *communibus annis* the receipts exceed the expenses of the Empire.

The Government of some of the Provinces, and of many of the large districts in Persia are so far hereditary, as that the person placed at the head of them is always a member of a family whom the Shah has found it either impossible or inconvenient to dispossess. Besides these, there are

" in Persia, and that kingdom is certainly, at this period, in a " flourishing condition."—*Malcolm's Persia.*

Now I neither affirm nor deny what Sir John has here stated on the authority of Herodotus, because I take it for granted he has quoted him correctly; but if the whole matter contained in this note be fact, I feel it right to call the reader's attention to it as a very curious one.

The fixed Revenue of Persia is founded on principles of collection, stated in the Koran. Was Mohammed in possession of any document which shewed him the fiscal laws of Persia as they stood under Darius Hystaspes—or was he so able a financier as to have hit on a law of finance that would equally in all ages suit Arabia, Persia, and all the East.

portions of land similar to what in England, we should call estates, which have been in the possession of their present proprietors for a long series of years. This class of persons, however, is not very numerous.* Meerza Bozurg is one of them; and it speaks volumes in favor of the moderation and ability with which the several successive members of this family must have conducted themselves, that from the time of their first emigration from Mekka,—where, as I have said before, they still possess the original family dwelling,—though they have been uniformly employed, in the very highest departments of the state under good and bad, under tyrannical and under mild Monarchs, they still have been able to preserve to themselves the possession of their primitive property.

Estates like these are generally farmed to the royal collector of the district in which they happen to be, or else managed for the proprietor by an agent on the spot; for in all the different ways in which I have entered Persian society, I never was introduced to such a person or character, as that we designate by the name of country gentleman —though I suspect many of the family Khans, Governors of Provinces or districts, to live pretty

* "I was told by Meerza Bozurg, the Prime Minister of the "Prince Abbas Meerza, that his *personal* estate had been in his "family for several years."—*Malcolm, p.* 486. I take it for granted the Meerza was speaking of what we call *real* and not *personal* estate.

much in the same way as our earls and barons did under our first Norman kings.

The church in Persia has much less power than the church in Turkey, because it is principally a stipendiary church dependent on the Shah for the payment of the salaries of its ministers. For this state of ecclesiastical things Persia is indebted to Nadir Shah, who confiscated to the state the immense revenues which the church then possessed; and chopped off the head of the Moollah Bashi! who first remonstrated against the confiscation and then endeavoured to dethrone him. In all Mohammedan countries the revenues of the church have arisen from two sources, Royal grants and wakfs or legacies. The power of bestowing the last is not abolished in Persia, but the fashion seems to have become nearly obsolete, and to be much in the same state as that amongst us of leaving money for the foundation of alms houses, schools, and those sort of things; and as to royal grants, the moollahs and priests may rather hope than expect to receive them.

Till the priesthood in Persia becomes more enlightened than it is at present, it appears to me, that the Shah will act wisely in making the church of Persia as much as possible a stipendiary church: and had this been done in Turkey, I conceive it might have saved some of the Ottoman emperors from being dethroned, and prevented

many serious commotions in the Provinces. The priesthood in Turkey awes the throne—in Persia the throne awes the priesthood—at Constantinople the Mufti issues a Fetwa to dethrone the sovereign—at Tæheran the Shah may, if he so incline, hang the Mufti, and no one will care or think much about the matter. In Turkey the ignorant, self-conceited, fanatic moollah is beheld with the utmost reverence; in Persia the person holding the same station, and possessing the same qualities, is laughed at, and is almost a proverbial joke; religion, except in the performance of its outward ceremonies, speaking generally, sits very lightly on a Persian. In Persia, one may, without risk, dispute on any point of the Mohammedan faith, even to doubting the prophetic mission of Mahommed, (which, however, no man of good taste or good feeling, except under particular circumstances, would think of doing.) In Turkey, to embark in such a conversation, would cost the Christian, most likely, either apostacy, or life. I never saw a *karagoos*, or puppet pantomime, acted in Persia, in which there was not the part of a blundering, self-conceited moollah, who gets into all sorts of scrapes, and at last, to the great contentment of the audience, or rather of the spectators, gets his head broken. Heaven protect the man who should be bold enough to make such an exhibition in the streets of Constantinople!

On the subject of the administration of justice,

the reader will remember my having already mentioned that it is divided into two branches, one called *Shehr,* or *Shehr Ullah,* the other called *Ourf.* Sir John Malcolm has mentioned these, and translated the first, "*written law;*" the second, "*customary law.*" With submission, I find myself compelled to remark, that what Sir John afterwards says on these subjects is not so distinct and clear as some other parts of his laborious work. Meninski translates the word *Shehr,* which is Arabic, *via recta (par excellence) lex canon religionis, religio, justitia, jus,*—the two latter again, in opposition to human justice, and human law; and I can safely affirm, that it is never appealed to without being designated *Shehr ullah (canon Dei)* or the law of God, and therefore its judgments are, or ought to be, strictly confined to the *dicta* contained in the Koran, and so far, indeed, may be called "written law." But this branch can neither be administered by the King, nor by a Governor of a province, but by what may be termed a spiritual lawyer or judge. Any person dissatisfied with a decision under the *Ourf,* may, by simply exclaiming *Shehr-ullah!* or *Shehr shereef!* remove his cause from the inferior to the superior court, and so be judged, according to his opinion, by divine, instead of human, law.

I am not aware that if this should not be quite intelligible to my reader, I can explain it better than by laying before him the following passage,

extracted from the incomparable and invaluable work of the Chevalier d'Ohsson, on the Turkish Empire.

" D'après les principes de la loi, tous les états " Mahometans ont pour maxime fondamentale " d'établir dans les provinces, dans les villes, et " partout où il y a des hommes réunis en société, " deux officiers principaux sous cette dénomina- " tion de Hakim, qui signifie ordonnateur comman- " dant. L'un est revêtu du pouvoir des lois: " l'autre, de celui des armes; et pour les dis- " tinguer entre eux, on appelle le premier Hakim- " el-Schèry (ministre de la justice); le second, " Hakim-ul-Ourf (ministre du pouvoir arbitraire, " ou plutôt de la force publique). L'usage a ce- " pendant consacré dans la bouche du vulgaire le " mot Zabith pour ceux-ci, et le mot de Hakim " pour ceux-là; de ce titre de Hakim dérive le " mot de Mehkemé,* qui répond à sanctuaire de

* During my residence at Bagdad, when I had nothing to do, I frequently attended the Mehkemeh, where the Cadi got through as much business in the course of the morning as would serve our judges and juries for a week; and I believe, generally speaking, with full as much *substantial justice* as is dealt out in any of our courts, where quibble, expense, and delay, seem to be standing dishes to those who either make or are invited to such entertainments. The Turks are considered as barbarians, but no man with them is ruined by the law. The English, as we must not doubt, are highly civilized, but can they say the same thing? The Arabs, Turks, and Persians, may bless God, that though they have locusts and other scourges, which afflict their country—they have no attorneys!

The most amusing causes at the Mehkemeh were those of ladies suing a divorce from their husbands. " God's fish!" as Charles the

" la justice, et qui est consacré à tous les tribu-
" naux de l'empire."

If we consider the state of society in which those were, to whom Mohammed promulgated the system of law laid down, in the Koran; if we consider the knowledge the Arabs possessed at that time of government, agriculture, and commerce; if we consider the independence of spirit on which they prided themselves; and if we consider the wants and necessities which such a government as the Prophet proposed to them would require, we shall naturally imagine that the taxes and impositions contained in the Koran would be moderate in their amount, and simple in their nature; and so we find them—and I believe, that in all the Mohammedan states these cases are strictly legal, or such as could be recovered or enforced by the *Shehr ullah*, and it is

Second said, " my old friend the Cadi, settled a case of that sort in as many minutes as it would have taken Doctor's Commons, and the House of Lords, years." The causes for which a Mohammedan woman can demand a divorce, are clearly and broadly laid down in the Koran,—her evidence is sufficient, because the Mohammedan law supposes, and justly supposes, that the woman must be violently aggrieved, before the innate modesty of her sex, would allow her publicly to appear, to make charges of a certain description against her husband. In five minutes, and for about five shillings and sixpence, she gets her business done. Compare this with the expense and delay of such a case in other places, and then tell me *utrum horum mavis accipe*. There is one case almost too horrible to suppose, and certainly too horrible to mention, in which the Mohammedan law acts with such delicacy, that the woman has only to lay her slipper reversed, that is the sole upwards, before the Cadi, and the case is finished.

quite certain that the application of their produce is very strictly and guardedly pointed out in the volume which authorises their collection. All taxes beyond these are levied by the *Ourf* by "*Le Ministre du pouvoir arbitraire, ou plutôt de la force publique.*" Sir John Malcolm appears to have understood this when he talks of the fixed revenue of Persia, but I think it will be perceived that he has omitted to tell his reader, why it is the fixed revenue—I completely agree with all he has so well expressed in the following paragraph.

"The principles, however, upon which the "whole of the fixed revenue of Persia is settled, "are at once just and moderate; and the system "is so *perfectly understood,* that it is attended "with neither difficulty nor oppression; but un- "fortunately for that country, its monarchs have "never been satisfied with the produce of this "revenue, and the justice and moderation of the "established assessments have only served to "make the inhabitants of Persia feel more sen- "sibly those *irregular* and oppressive taxes to "which they are continually exposed."

In the first rank of these irregular and oppressive taxes, Sir John puts the *pieshcush,* or presents expected to be made on the Nourouze or other occasions; and informs us, on the authority of Mr. Morier, that Hajee Mohammed Hussein Khan,*

* "And we are reconciled to a belief of this fact from the instance of a Governor of a Province, who has for *several years past*

in the year 1808, presented to the Shah fifty-five mules, each covered with a fine Cashmire shawl, and carrying a load of 1,000 tomauns. All this may be very true.—But I beg to say, as one of Alexander's successors did to the historian, when reading his work to him:—"Where was I all the "time?"

Mr. Morier was at that time very young in Persia, and what between a barbarous foreign accent, and scant knowledge of the language, could scarcely make himself understood in the very commonest colloquy; and I think it will hardly require an oath to make the reader believe, that I was more behind the scenes than Mr. Morier.—The mules were there,—the shawls were there,—and the bags were there,—and I have little doubt that the money was in them,—but to whom the money really belonged, it would puzzle Mr. Morier, as I am sure it would me, to swear. Every one has heard of borrowing of Peter to pay Paul, but this I do know,—the Ameen-ed-dowlah's public *pieshcush* was the bait of a trap to catch others, and regulated in private between the Shah and himself. It is more than probable it may be said, how do you know this?—why, because the same man attempted to practice something in the same way on me; he wanted me to consent, that the present I had to make to the Shah, when it was sent, should be accompanied

never made an annual present of less than one hundred thousand tomauns."—MALCOLM.

by pearls, shawls, &c. which he would lend me for the occasion, and which should be returned; and when he found me obstinate, or, as he called it, *perverse,* in refusing such loan, he said the present I had to make, (although reader, it amounted to between 11 and 12,000*l.*) "*was not worthy to be laid before the King,*" and, like a blockhead, began to talk to me (as no doubt he did on these occasions to others, with whom his words would have more effect) of the terrible inconvenience of the King's coolness.* Sir John Malcolm styles this person respectable; and says, "this respectable "nobleman,† who is Minister of Finance and Go-

* I told this gentleman, in as plain Persian as I could speak, "What I have been commanded by my sovereign to present to "the Shah, is sent to him as a mark of His Majesty's esteem and "regard; and if it were the veriest trifle in the world, instead of "being a jewel of such magnificence as the one I am charged with, "I will believe, until I know it to be otherwise, that His Persian "Majesty would view it and receive it in a proper manner. But "if I was certain that the Shah considered my present and *your* "*peishcush* in the same light, I should regard it as my indispensable "duty to return that with which I have been entrusted, into the "gracious hands of my Sovereign, and tell him my reasons for "so doing;—*if kings and subjects* are jumbled together in your "head, they are not in mine." This was "the first to the Corinthians," (brass) and ought to have been the last, but it was not. I found afterwards that this had been reported to the Shah, who had good-sense enough to say, "the Fringee is right."

† Sir John Malcolm appears to me to be particularly infelicitous in his choice of the persons on whom he has thought fit to bestow his praises. Hajee Ibrahim was as execrable a scoundrel as ever lived; he was the Macbeth of Persia,—he was the cause of the murder of his King, with the hope of taking his place; he failed—but he would have tried the tragedy a second time, had Fath Ally Shah been less attentive to what was going on, or less inclined (as

" vernor of Isfahaun, and of all the districts subor-
" dinate to that city, derives his power of making
" these splendid offerings to his sovereign, from
" the most legitimate of all sources,—the general

poor Lutf Ally Khan was) to take counsel from his Ministers. This man could truly say

" The castle of *Lutf Ally* I will surprise,
" Seize upon Fars—give to the edge o' the sword
" His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
" That trace in him their line."

And I am happy to add, that he received throughout Persia, what Sir John's countryman did throughout Scotland—

" Curses not loud but deep, mouth honor, breath,
" Which the poor heart would fain deny and dare not,"

Now for the other gentleman, or nobleman. There was not a gentleman on my Mission, who does not know that the Ameen-ed-Dowlah's knowledge of reading and writing was about equal to that of one of our washerwomen, and his ignorance, except in the *Ourf* of Persian finance, was so gross, and his manners so bad, that he was the constant joke of his brother Ministers. The Shah's opinion of him was one day expressed to me in very few words :—" He is " an ass, and of no very high breed, but he is useful, and will bear " a devilish great burthen." For myself, as an English gentleman, I must unlearn all I have learnt, before I praise a traitor, or think a *blockhead*, though he be a nobleman, a respectable person. Strong and acute as the mind of Sir John Malcolm was in some respects, I doubt if on all occasions it altogether withstood Persian flattery.

" Καλόν γε λέγεις, ὦ Ιππία. καὶ τῇ Ἠλειων πόλει της σοφιας
" ἀναθημα, την ὑξαν ειναι τήνσην, καὶ τοῖς γόνεῦσι τοῖς σοῖς. ἀτὰρ
" τι δὴ λέγεις ἡμῖν περι τοῦ Αχιλωέως τε καὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως; πότε-
" ρον ἀμείνω καὶ κατὰ τι Φης ἔιναι."—*Platonis Hippias Minor (de Mendacia.)* Taylor's Translation runs thus :—" The reputation of " your wisdom, O Hippias, will be a fair monument of glory to your " family and country. And what say you to our question concern-" ing Achilles and Ulysses ? [that is, Hajee Ibrahim and the Ameen " ed-dowlah,] Whether of the two think you was the greatest " [rogue] and in what respect ?"

"*improvement of the country committed to his* "*charge.*" I will leave the reader to make his own reflections on this passage;—I will only say, as our transatlantic countrymen do,—"I guess," if Sir John's History of Persia be ever published at Isfahaun, it will be found that more than one erratum is marked in this passage.

Sir John puts next what is called *sadir*; which, I agree with him, means "public requisition," the amount of which depends entirely on the *ourf*, and is exceedingly oppressive, for it arises entirely from the caprice of the Monarch, or the representations made to him by Hajee Mohammed Hussein Khan and his satellites. For myself, I am inclined to regard the *soursaut* or purveyance as a very heavy tax on the subject;—but, however, without mentioning other irregular and oppressive means of procuring money from the subject, I think I have said enough to establish my position, that the amount of a revenue, which depends so much on *sic volo sic jubeo,* can have no fixed amount. It is not my design, nor my wish, to write a critique on Sir John Malcolm's book, which in many parts is excellent, and the best book which has yet appeared on Persia, save and except that prince of travellers, Chardin. Nobody knows better the value, or more unreservedly subscribes to the truth of the old Persian proverb, "*Nemee dánem,—ra-* "*het e jaunem,*" (i. e. *discere* nescio *est tranquillitas animæ meæ,)* than I do,—but if I speak, I

will endeavour to speak truth, or at least, what I believe to be true.—"*Nullius addictus jurare in "verba magistri,*" ought to be in every honest man's mind when he puts his thoughts to paper.

Every body knows that the title by which the Grand Seignor holds the Ottoman Empire, is that of being the *visible* representative (such as it is) of the Imaum or legal successor of the Prophet. Every body also knows that the Shah of Persia holds his throne by quite a different title, namely, the longest and strongest sword; for with the Persians the *visible*, or rather *invisible*, Imaum, is at the bottom of a well at Sermen Rey, near Bagdad; and should it please him to come out of it, (which I sincerely hope it will not, for his re-appearance is immediately to precede the destruction of this world) the Persians and their King are bound to receive him as their Imaum, King, and Lord. As Persia stands at present, therefore, the Government of it is as purely despotic as can be imagined; and this despotism, though with curtailed influence, descends all through the Zabiths, of whatever description they may be, high or low. The Shah can do whatever he pleases; the Governors, in their different districts, can do much in this way, and the only risk they run is subjecting themselves to the Shah's displeasure; for as to being accountable to the *subject* for injuring him, I will be bound to say (the words are untranslatable into Persian) "the aggrieved person may cry out

shehr ullah, but unless he has somebody to support him at court, "it is as a dog howling in "a desert." The system, in short, is well described by Pope's simile of the stone thrown into still water; the first circle which it makes is strong, the succeeding ones weaker and weaker: it is thus with the Persian Government, but the *primum mobile* of each and every circle, is that heaviest of all stones—despotism.

I will now relate all that *I know,* and all that *I believe,* as to the manner in which the Shah spends his time at Tæheran. Like all other Mohammedans, he rises from bed at the specified hour for the morning prayer, and before he performs it, most probably makes use of the hot bath.* In a very

* To the reader who is not much acquainted with the doctrines of Islam, the following may be acceptable.

"That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, "(prayer) Mohammed is said to have declared that *the practice of "religion is founded in cleanliness,* which is *the one half of the "faith,* and *the key of prayer,* without which it will not be heard "by God. That these expressions may, therefore, be the better "understood, Al Ghazali reckons four degrees of purification,—of "which the first is, the cleansing the body from all pollution, filth "and excrements; the second, the cleansing of the members of the "body from all wickedness and unjust actions; the third, the "cleansing of the heart from all blamable inclinations and odious "vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's secret thoughts from "all affections which may divert their attendance on God; adding "that the body is but the outward shell, in this respect, to the "heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly "complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior "purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so "scrupulously nice as themselves; and at the same time have their

short time after this, I believe there is a general assemblage of the ladies of the palace, and the very younger children, which a person, whom I consider to have had good means of obtaining information, assured me was anything but an agreeable *passe-temps* for the Shah; for he had then so many complaints to hear, so many jealousies to settle, so many pretensions to jewels and others favors, put forth to him, that perhaps when the Shah said to me one day,—" Your fringees ought to bless " God that your law allows you but one wife," he spoke feelingly. The Shah's *naushtch* or breakfast is now served and (if the ladies have not been very troublesome) in the apartment in which they have been received; if otherwise, the Shah comes into a small room between the public and private apartments of the palace, where he receives the Ministers before the morning dewan, or court, is held.

" minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hy-
" pocrisy. Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation
" the Mohammedans have been charged by some writers, with
" teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse
" them from their sins." Sale's excellent Preliminary Discourse, page 105.

The curious reader will not lose his time, if, after this, he turn to the directions given by our Saviour, and the scattered observations which St. Paul, in his Epistles, makes on prayer.

The periods appointed in the Koran for Mohammedan prayer are five.—1. In the morning before sun-rise. 2. When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian. 3. After-noon before sunset. 4. In the evening after sunset, and before the day be shut in. 5. After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night.

The Shah's breakfast, like the breakfast of all other Persians, is extremely light, nor does it consist of other things (though, perhaps, of a more choice quality) than those of a Persian gentleman in easy circumstances, except being served in richer and more beautiful utensils. About eight in summer, and nine in winter, the great ministers are admitted to this private audience, at which every thing is settled that is to pass or be performed at the approaching court; and when any of the ministers take the interests of any individual under their protection, it is at this time they are laid before the Shah: the report of what has passed in the city, during the preceding night, is made here also.

About eleven, generally, the Shah proceeds to the Dewan Khaneh, which is a very large hall, or room, open in front, elevated about four feet from the pavement, and enclosed by the walls of an oblong square court. The Shah, if not on the throne, sits in the upper corner of the room, just at the edge of its elevation, so that the ministers, who stand on the pavement below, may be within convenient distance to hear his Majesty, and to reply. Meerza Sheffee, as Prime Minister,* stands separate from

* Meerza Sheffee, on account of his age, infirmities, and long services, was permitted to support himself, even in the Shah's presence, with a cane, in the choice, neatness, and simplicity of which the old gentleman was particularly curious and nice. Whoever has been accustomed to see copies of the Shah Nameh finely illuminated, will recollect, that in the representation of the Mejlis, or

the rest, and nearest the Shah; and Meerza Bozurg, as his *kaimacam*, or lieutenant, stands close at his principal's left hand. Such as are introduced to an audience, either of ceremony or business, enter the court at the end farthest from the Shah, and remain there in a posture betokening great submission, till their names are called by the master of the ceremonies. The person thus called advances, making reverences to the Shah at certain stations, which are marked on the pavement. When he arrives at the point beyond which he is not permitted to approach the Shah, (which varies according to his rank, and is also marked on the pavement) he stands, with his eyes fixed on the ground, till the Shah speaks to him, which he seldom does before fifteen or twenty minutes have passed, unless, indeed, he be a person of great consequence, or one by whom earlier addressing, the Shah intends to distinguish by this public honor. At this court the governors of provinces, and all other distant officers of rank who may happen to be at the capital, are expected to appear, as well as all other persons in the superior grades of office at the capital, as well military as civil; and on Friday, the ecclesiastics, who may (if wanted), be sent for on other days. The Moollah Bashi, and the Shaik-us-Salam, are the only persons amongst

King's Court, there is almost always a *peer-e-merd* (an old man) who is permitted to make use of his cane to support himself in the presence of the Shah.

this body who have the privilege of sitting in the room with the Shah, but this at a great distance from his Majesty. If any of the King's sons are present, as some of them generally are, they all (even Abbas Meerza) stand by the side of the Shah. At this court all presentations take place, all public honors are conferred, all promotions are declared, and, what may appear strange to us, all public executions of criminals take place, within twenty to thirty feet of the Shah. The present Shah, who is a very humane person, when he first came to the throne, whenever an execution took place, found himself obliged (which the Persians considered as very effeminate*) to turn his head aside. Meerza Bozurg one day made a remark to me, which I think a very judicious one. He said, "Our kings, speaking of them generally, are more "careless about shedding blood than they other- "wise would be, perhaps, from the circumstance "of the frequent executions which take place be- "fore them; for depend upon it, the first sight of "human blood, strikes all of us with more or less "horror and remorse, but the oftener we see it "shed, the lighter we esteem its value." This court seldom continues beyond half-past twelve. The ministers, after it breaks up, have generally a few minutes audience with the Shah, before he retires to the harem.

In a short time after this, the King's *chausht*, or

* *Missal e zun* (like a woman.)

dinner is served up, at which the elder princes, from ten years of age and upwards, attend standing, though none of them, but such as are called for, appear. The dinner finished, the Shah retires to his siesta, from which he rises to the evening prayer, and, shortly after that is performed, appears in one of the public apartments of the palace. Here also the ministers, who may be designated the cabinet, attend of course, and all other officers that are summoned. This is considered as a Dewan-e-Khass, or particular court, in opposition to the morning, which is the Dewan-e-Aum, or general court. The evening court, sometimes, especially when the troops are assembling, is held in a balcony, overlooking the great square in the palace. A Persian review, which is called *sogoon*, is on a plan entirely different from ours. The troops are assembled at one end of the square, the Shah's balcony being in the middle, in which, besides the commanding officers of the different troops to be reviewed, are also the great ministers. The commanding officer holds in his hand a roll of his men, and calls them consecutively one by one. The man thus called, starts his horse at full gallop, and brings him up on his haunches immediately under the Shah, who examines both for some time, and sometimes even speaks to the man.

At a private signal from the Shah, if the man, horse, and arms are approved, the commanding-

officer calls out *berow* (pass on) the man then slowly walks his horse to the other end of the square, at which there is a gateway, and he passes out—if disapproved, the officer calls out *baush* (remain,) and such persons retire at a distance opposite to the Shah; and when all the rest have passed in review, they are re-examined. After the prayer appointed to be said at the close of the evening, the Shah appears again in public, by candle-light, and this is generally called *Meglis-e-Shah*, or the King's Assembly, at which none appear but the great Ministers, and such as have the *entrée*; and amongst these the Poet Laureate, if I may use the expression, and the *Wukaa Nevees*, or King's Historian, seldom fail of being present. This assembly, or court, usually finishes about eight or nine, and the Shah then retires. How the Shah passes his hours from that time to the time of rest, I never could exactly learn, but I have reason to think the present Shah is fond of being read to,—is fond of vocal and instrumental music,—is fond of the conversation and society of such ladies as have agreeable voices, and can divert him with tales and stories,—and particularly fond of hearing such of them as are adepts recite, either the heroic, the lyric, or amatory poetry of Persia, in recitative. It may be imagined, therefore, that he employs this part of his time in some one or other of these modes of relaxation; especially as the Shah himself has what the Per-

sians call a very pretty turn for poetry. This I believe to be the common employment of the Shah in the course of the day. The Persians generally go, and I believe the Shah also goes, to bed at an hour which we should call early. It is seldom, however, that the whole night is passed as we pass it, in bed; the Persians generally arise from it in the course of the night, take coffee, or some refreshment, and retire again to bed. On the days when the King hunts, hawks, or goes to the gardens, it is notified the day before, that next day there will be no Morning Court; and if ladies are to be of the party, a *korouk*, or interdiction to persons appearing on the road along which the litters of the ladies are to pass, is also proclaimed, which, if infringed, is most severely punished. The days of the Prince-Governors of provinces, and the very highest class of noblemen, are passed a good deal on this plan.

I know of no situation that I should so little like to fill, as that which may be called a Cabinet Minister of Persia; and I have, in the course of my acquaintance with many of them, considering their age and infirmities, wondered again and again how they supported themselves under what they had to go through. Meerza Sheffee told me, and I have great reason to believe he told me true (for I saw him at most hours of the night or day) that out of the twenty-four hours he was obliged to employ eighteen in business; and that

during ten of these he was generally obliged to be on his legs, though he was then, as near as he could guess, seventy-four or seventy-five years of age, and so extremely thin, that nearly undressed, as I have seen him, he looked more like a skeleton than a man; and invariably, on coming home from the evening Meglis, or Court, he was obliged to lie down, and be well *champooed*, or rubbed, before he could attend his guests at supper. Meerza Bozurg told me, ever since he had been in office under the Khajars, he had made it a rule never to take more than four hours sleep in the night, and one in the day.

The course of life of these Ministers, such as I observed it, is as follows:—the time prescribed for the morning prayer is, when a blue thread can be distinguished from a white one, or what is called by the Persians, "the false dawn." At this time they arise from bed, and, after prayer, spend a little time in the regulation of their private affairs and household concerns. Immediately after the sun appears above the horizon, the Ministers are visible to a particular class of clients, in a room of their house, called *Meeaneh*, which is between the harem and the public apartments. There they refresh themselves with a small cup of coffee and a calean—they then proceed to the palace, at which each of them has a small separate room. Their servants generally carry thither their breakfasts, and whilst the Shah

is eating his, they are eating theirs. Nothing can be more uncomfortable than this meal, of which I have often partaken, for the room is crowded with suitors, clerks with papers and reports, and so becomes very hot and close, and the poor Minister talks much and eats little. The time soon arrives for them to appear before the Shah, in his private apartment, to which they are followed, as near as such persons can approach, by a crowd of clients and suitors, jostling one another to get an opportunity of speaking to the Minister, *en passant*. From this time to the breaking up of the Court at the Dewan Khaneh, they remain standing in the presence of the Shah. They then have a short audience of the Shah for private orders, and it is but seldom that they return to their houses to dinner, unless they have some particular person to see or to receive there by order of the Shah—they therefore retire to their own rooms, or assemble in that of one of their colleagues; if the latter, they are considered to be in council, and not generally interrupted; but if the former, they are again subject to the intrusion of their suitors and clients,* and these sometimes

* The reader may wonder that these great men suffer this; but perhaps when he is told, that with most of them the greater part of their revenue proceeds from the protection and assistance afforded to these clients, his wonder may diminish. Meerza Bozurg assured me he lived on the produce and rent of his estate, and added, "whenever I find myself in debt, I tell Abbas Meerza, and he pays "it, just as the Zund Princes were used to do for my uncle."

have so little consideration, that it is difficult to get rid of them, even when the Minister wishes to take his siesta; and I have frequently seen Meerza Sheffee's favorite attendant, who on such occasions looked after his old master, much in the same manner as a nurse looks after a child, and whom he almost adored, obliged to use thumps and kicks to clear the room. Between the siesta and the evening prayer, persons on business are again admitted; and the prayers finished, the Ministers again attend the Shah. The hour of sunset arrived, the Court breaks up, and the Ministers return to business and their little apartment.

The time of the Mejles now comes, and they again attend the Shah; and this finished, they return home between eight and nine in the evening. I have seen Meerza Sheffee come home so weak and worn out, as to be obliged to be helped off his mule, and Meerza Bozurg's legs so swollen when his cloth boots* were taken off, as to be disagreeable to look at, and for sometime afterwards very troublesome to him. One might suppose the remaining part of the twenty-four hours was their own—no such thing—five days

* These boots are crimson strong cloth—they are an indispensable requisite to a court dress—they are fastened under the knee with a strong silk garter to keep them up. Meerza Sheffee could not bear this ligature, and his boots were always about his heels. Meerza Bozurg, whose dress was simplicity itself, always prided himself on what tailors call "a good fit," and was more than commonly careful his boots should show no wrinkle; he therefore wore the ligature extremely tight.

out of the seven they entertain at supper either some of the higher rank of their clients or their friends:—the first thing indeed, the minister does after supper, and sometimes before, is to sleep or rather doze, leaning his body forward and supporting his head with his hands—when he rouses himself it is to some sort of business: he dozes again—he rouses again—he talks again,—and about eleven o'clock he retires to what may truly be called—his rest. In the city, in the camp, it is pretty near the same routine; and the only holiday which these great officers know, is when, as poor old Meerza Sheffee was used emphatically to say, "it pleased God to put it into the Shah's "head to hawk or pass a day at the gardens;" on which occasion the attendance of these ministers is not required, and they have the day to themselves.

I am not aware that there exists in any city of Persia, such a person as a gentleman living on what we should call his means or rents; for persons of this sort generally some how or other attach themselves to the court, perhaps for the greater security of their property. The profession of a merchant in Persia is highly respectable, if not honorable. The higher class of these have always rooms in the best caravanserai in the city, in which they reside, and there they pass the time from breakfast to dinner, and from the evening prayers to sunset. Such caravanserais are a sort

of exchange, where prices are settled, bargains made, and news picked up. For the style in which such persons live, the reader may refer to what I have said of Hajee Eusoof the jeweller. The retail dealers pass pretty much the same portion of time in their shops in the bazaars, as the merchants do in their chambers at the caravanserais. Living, in all parts of Persia where I have been, is extremely cheap; and necessary and useful house-furniture is easy of acquisition, for it consists of a few copper-cooking pots, and carpets, and cushions, which may be had from very low to very high prices. Persia does not abound in disgusting beggars, though it does in disorderly derveishes.

I do not deem myself much mistaken when I say that full one-third of the surface of the Persian empire is uncultivated and perhaps uncultivatable; but, in many parts of it which I have seen, the cultivatable land is capable of great improvement: and one species of improvement which in this country is much attended to, is totally neglected there; I mean the plantation of forest trees; though the consequences, which under a good government, would follow its adoption, would be highly beneficial and important. The fruits of Persia are proverbially good of their kind, and so, generally speaking, are the culinary vegetables, which are produced there. Sir John Malcolm and the author of the Sketches from

Persia, talks much of the cultivation of the potato. Meerza Bozurg's opinion of it, as given to me, the reader will find in a note in the Appendix (N).

I agree with Sir John Malcolm, that from any data we at present possess, it is not possible even to guess with tolerable accuracy at the amount of the population of Persia; especially, as the chief inhabitants of some of the provinces are Nomadic. Under Nadir Shah, it was terribly reduced; under Kerim Khan it rapidly revived: during the contentions of the Zunds, it decreased; under Aga Mohammed Khan it continued to do so: under the present Shah it has again increased greatly. Now, what does all this amount to? why, that as long as the quality of the government is uncertain, the amount of the population must be so too; when the government is tolerably steady and good, it increases,—when tyrannic and bad, it decreases,—and thus follows the general law of all population.

The breed of man, as an animal, is far superior in Persia to the breed of beasts. Amongst the former, a deformed or weak one is seldom seen; amongst the latter, it is rare to see any thing very much to be admired; and of what there is of this sort, much is brought from other countries: horses from Arabia and Turcomania; sheep and goats from Arabia and Courdistan. It must be confessed, however, that on the southern Persian shores of the Persian Gulf, there is a superb breed of asses, by means of which Persia is supplied with a mag-

nificent breed of mules. As to their kine and cattle, they are very indifferent and poor; but, until the bulk of the nation shall value their flesh more than they do at present, I do not apprehend any great improvement is likely to take place in breed. It is curious to reflect on the pains which man takes to improve the breed, and consequently, the quality of the flesh, of the animal on which he prefers to feed: this, perhaps, is one reason why the sheep in Persia are generally so good.

"What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him;
"All this he knew, but knew not 'twas to eat him.
"As far as *Lamb* could judge, he reasoned right;
"But as to man, mistook the matter quite."

I never saw a bull in Persia, which my honest Herefordshire bailiff would not have called a *bug-gaboo*. I never remember seeing above one or two men in Persia, made in a certain part like some of our solid citizens, or like Boniface, "who drinks "his ale, eats his ale, and lives on his ale." There are no people on the face of God's earth who have less reason to complain of his dealing out to them scantily his best and most precious gift—Intellect! —and I am convinced that few of his creatures, were they under a better form of government, would make greater use of it.

Of ladies of high rank I can give no account, for I never saw the face of one of them; but their sons, generally speaking, are very handsome; and, therefore, if the tree is to be known by its fruit,

some of these ladies must be very beautiful. When Colonel Franklin and myself, many years ago, were in Persia together, we were on such terms of intimacy with two or three families in moderate circumstances, that the women of them did not scruple to join the male part of the family even in our presence. Their figure was good, though slender and light; their complexions, that sort of brunette which the Persians call *Gendowee*, or (wheaten); and their eyes uniformly expressive and brilliant. I fear from what I heard, and what I saw, that with them, as generally throughout the East, the bloom of youth seldom extends, at the utmost, beyond twenty-five years of age.

When I left Persia in 1811, the coin of the Empire was quite pure, and there was less alloy in the Persian gold tomaun, than there is in our coin called the sovereign; their silver rupee was as pure as silver could be; at least the coinage of Tauris was so. The contrast between Turkey and Persia, in this respect, affords matter for reflection. When I joined the Bussora factory, in 1783, the exchange of the Turkish piastre against the pound sterling, was ten; when I came through Constantinople in 1811, it was twenty-five; it has since risen much higher, and the greater part of this mischief has arisen from the outrageous debasement which has since taken place in all the coins of the Empire. Persia has seldom attempted to debase her coin; and if, under particular Princes,

she has attempted to do it, the mischief has not continued long before she returned to a healthful currency. She has had the good sense, or good fortune, never to allow either Jews or Armenians to have any thing to do with her mint. Meerza Bozurg was not, perhaps, so well versed on this subject as to have been able to have debated in the House of Commons, through all its points and nice bearing, the bullion question; but it was well for his country that he knew, and was fully impressed with the truth of, the maxim, that the state which debases its coin, *gains a loss.*

The commerce of Persia, like its population, under the present Shah, has increased prodigiously. When I first arrived at Bussora, about sixty or seventy bales of Indian chintz made the whole of the annual import of this article at Bushire; when I last returned from Persia, this importation had increased to between five or six hundred. At the renewal of the India Company's Charter in 1812, my evidence on the trade of Persia was never asked for, though, perhaps, for many years, I had been as much, if not more, engaged in it, than any other European. I learnt, however, from the public prints, that a person of some note assured the Legislature that it was impossible to increase our exports to Persia, either from this country, or from India;—which, to my mind, is pretty much the same thing as if a person saw a cabbage growing in a certain state, and was to say, this vegetable has no powers

of further increase. We lost an opportunity, especially as things have turned out since, of extending our commerce in Persia, which can never be recalled; something, however, may be done, if the King's Minister in that country will attend a little to commerce, as matter of diplomacy, and will set his shoulders fairly to the wheel; and if he is permitted, to lay the report he should be ordered to make, fairly before the British and Indian mercantile world. If I could get at the account of the Russian commerce with Persia, through Georgia, and across the Caspian, I should not be surprised to find, that since the year 1813, it has doubled, trebled, or perhaps quadrupled, its previous amount. He who dogmatically lays down that an export commerce, carried on with a foreign state, and which is increasing in its revenue, increasing in its population, and increasing in its intercourse with the higher civilized states of Europe, cannot be extended, has formed ideas on the subject, entirely different from those which I entertain,—and, I must say, entertain from experience. The Company's Charter of exclusive trade to the East is at an end: all, therefore, that I have said above, (accuse me not of vanity) if Persia continues quiet, and is not entirely in the grasp of Russia, as Turkey seems to be, is very well worth the serious attention of the King and his Ministers.

Most kinds of grain are produced in Persia in great abundance and perfection; in all the pro-

vinces, more or less, rice (the blessing of the East) is produced; in some of them, to a perfection, in point of delicacy, and flavor, and nourishment, that I have never met with any where else. If we look only at the face of the country, we shall at once perceive that it must abound in minerals both of the superior and inferior orders. The provinces bordering on the Caspian, possess coal; and there is no doubt that there are others which enjoy the same blessing. If we ever again stand on the same footing with Persia as we did in 1811, it would be well worth the attention of the King's Government, to employ, under the orders of His Minister at Tæheran, a skilful mineralogist, to investigate and examine the unknown, but suspected (at least by me) subterranean treasures of that country. The Persians at that time would have been delighted to have received, and assisted such a person in his researches,—what they may do now is more than I can tell.

If Persia has not lost (as I believe she has not) any of the arts of which she anciently was mistress, I cannot say that she has acquired many new ones. The dyes of Persia, when applied to wool or silk, are of the very richest and most brilliant order; and her enamelling in relievo, has not yet, that I have seen, been imitated in Europe. I will not say water in Persia is silver, but I will say it is gold—therefore her acquaintance with hydraulics has been of long standing, and is considerable.

"Necessity is the mother of invention," and, perhaps, when our ancestors knew little more on this subject, than that if a pitcher was dipped into a well, it would fill itself, the Persians were acquainted with many of the most powerful properties of this blessed and most extraordinary fluid.

Experimental philosophy, the true *principium et fons*, is not known in Persia.—Her literature, as compared with that of Europe, is not worth talking about.—Her geography laughable.—Her astronomy worse; for it is the Ptolemean system.—Her poetry, to our cold souls, hombast.—Her chemistry paltry, and little practised, except by some noodle pursuing that *ignis fatuus*, the philosopher's stone:—and as to her medicine and surgery, God help the patient!* To astrology she

* Justice requires that to this catalogue of ignorance I should add, that as a nation, the Persians have a desire to learn, and genius to profit by instruction. The following may, however, tend to give the reader a notion how far Persian physicians may be confided in.

When I was at Schyras, in the reign of Jaafer Khan, a great Khan of the royal tribe of Zund was afflicted with the leprosy. The King was extremely interested about him, and consulted the Hakim Bashi, or chief physician, or court physician, as to what could be done for his relief. This learned person recommended that the patient should daily be made to swallow a certain quantity of china-ware broken fine. The disease, however, was obstinate, and did not yield to the prescription. The King took it into his head that the fault lay in the insufficiency of the dose, and so ordered the patient to swallow a double one. This, however, produced no alteration in the state of the leper. The Hakim Bashi was consulted again, and he laid the failure of success to the account

is devoted,—and the *Monejem Bashi* or head reader of the stars, is an appointment of great honor and power; for he who can make me believe that he knows when the heavens are favorable to me, when unfavorable to me, when it is proper for me to act, and when to be still,—when pleasure, if attempted, will end in disappointment,—has surely no mean sway over my actions. And the power of the Monejem Bashi would be omnipotent, were it not sometimes interfered with by the superstition of taking *faals*, or decisions from the Koran or Hafez.

of the china administered *not being sufficiently old.* In consequence, the oldest and finest china in the Palace was broken up, ground to powder in quantities, and given to the afflicted Khan, with just the same success that the less valuable china had been.

The Hakim Bashi now delivered it as his opinion that the disease was occasioned by *impurity of blood*; the only sure way to remedy which was, to draw blood from the patient and put it back again, *i. e.* to cause him to drink it. This last prescription, aided, perhaps, by the *very old china*, certainly cured the poor man's leprosy, and, indeed, all his other complaints, if he had any; for before I left Schyras, I saw his corpse carried to the grave. Eastern physicians have, at all times, pursued a system of practice different from that of their brethren in Europe. The Caliph Al Wauthek laboured under a dropsical complaint, brought on by intemperance. The physicians not being able to assuage the violence of the malady, at last thought of ordering the patient to be put into an oven heated as highly as he could possibly bear it. It is said that from the first experiment made of this recipe, the Caliph received considerable relief, which induced him to make a second trial, and to order the oven to be more intensely heated. In this he was obeyed, but perceiving when too late that the heat was beyond his endurance, he beckoned to be taken out, but not time enough to save his life or to prevent his being baked.

It is curious, after so many Greek works have been translated into Arabic and Persian, that the reading of them by the Orientals should have had so little effect on their national compositions; —but whoever has tried translation must have felt how stubbornly the idiom of one language resists amalgamation with another, and that a real good critical taste, is not only the most difficult, but the last thing a man attains, especially where the model is in opposition to the taste of his country, and contrary to the genius of his language.

Every thing I had to do at Tauris was now finished;—the accounts were made up,—the archives delivered to Mr. Sheridan,—the necessary preparations for the journey to England of my two young friends completed, and they themselves put officially under the care of my excellent friend, Sir James Sutherland. The Persians have a custom worthy of observance by all who travel in countries where the comforts of the journey depend so much on the supplies you carry with you as they do in Persia,—which is, of making the first stage of the journey a very short one, that is, within an easy distance of the city from which you start, so that if you have forgotten anything, or anything necessary in your preparations is found to have been omitted, the fault may be rectified, without great trouble or loss of time.

The gentlemen of the Mission who were at Tauris, were so kind as to accompany me to

where my tent was pitched; and the next morning we parted, on my part, with feelings of sincere friendship and gratitude, not only for the great assistance I had on many occasions received from them, but also for a general and ready acquiescence with such wishes as I had at different times found necessary to express to them, and, on their part, they did me the honor to express much regret at my departure. It is, perhaps, a melancholy reflection, but, nevertheless, as human nature is constituted, a correct one, that our perception of pleasure is seldom, if ever, so strong and vivid as our perception of pain, and that most of us can, if we will, recollect, that in many of the greatest and best instances which have happened to us of the former, we have frequently not been aware of its real worth and value, till some time after. The sense of pain, however slight, every one knows is vivid enough, whilst a long and uninterrupted enjoyment of health, the greatest, and, perhaps, the strongest, of all pleasures, seldom makes the impression it ought at the time we are enjoying it.

My excellent mehmander, Hyder Ally Khan, was directed to proceed with me as far as Erzeroom, and it had been settled that the Turkish minister, Hyder Ally Khan, and myself, should, on the part of Abbas Meerza, make several confidential communications to the Beglerbeg there; and in this respect His Royal Highness did me the

honor of telling Hyder Ally Khan not to take a single step without consulting me upon it, and receiving my approbation. On our arrival at Eszeroom, the Beglerbeg was found to be one of those ignorant, narrow-minded, prejudiced Turks, who in that empire are sometimes by chance, and sometimes by corruption, lifted into office.

The Beglerbeg of Erivan, one of the highest officers and noblemen in the Persian empire, had, during his residence at Tauris, the preceding winter, made me promise, that if I returned to England through the countries under his government, I would pass, at least, a week with him; and the extreme attention and politeness with which he received us, made the time we staid with him pass very agreeably. He seemed to study in what manner he could amuse us most. One day he made a party for us on the banks of some beautiful natural pools, between ten and fifteen miles distant from Erivan, in which are quantities of trout, of the very highest flavor I ever tasted, and whose skin is as beautiful as their flesh is excellent. The water of these pools, for they can scarcely be called lakes, is perfectly limpid and clear, but by no means deep, and the bottom, which appears to be a fine gravel, is apparent in most places, though before the nets were laid down none of us could discover a fish. As soon as the nets had been properly laid, from half-a-dozen to ten of the Beglerbeg's horsemen plunged their horses into the

pool, and rode about in all directions. When this had continued about half an hour, the nets were withdrawn, and were found to contain about a score of trouts, from a pound and a half to two pounds and a half, the most beautiful fish I ever beheld. On the bank of one of the pools, the Beglerbeg had erected a sort of little rough shed to cook in, and near to it was pitched a commodious tent. The fish were speedily served up broiled, and, what surprised me, was to see that the Beglerbeg's cook understood the advantage of "crimping," to the full as well as Sir Humphrey Davy. I have eaten the Wye salmon in as great perfection as it is possible to eat it, but, *me judice*, these trout, in point of flavor, exceed the Wye salmon as much as a turbot does a flounder.

After dining luxuriously, the Khan proposed amusing ourselves by firing at a mark, with ball; and directed some of his Georgian slaves in attendance, to prepare from the wild flowers which grew on the margin of the pools, balls of them, made in the fashion of cowslip balls, which they afterwards threw up in the air for him to fire at with a single bullet. As far as I recollect, he did not once miss to strike these balls, and the point he chose to fire at them, was when they had reached their highest point of ascent. On our way, some of that species of grouse which is so common in Persia, were started, and one of them marked down. I dismounted, walked up to it,

sprung it, and killed the bird on the wing. If the Beglerbeg expressed much astonishment at this feat, my astonishment certainly exceeded his, that he who had successively struck with a single bullet a body in motion in the air, should consider it as a matter of any nicety to kill a bird flying, with small shot.

Our first stage from Erivan, and a very short one, was to the three Churches; or, as they are commonly called, *Ouach Miatzin.* The Armenian Patriarch, who resides there, received me with great politeness and hospitality. He had already visited me whilst I was the guest of the Beglerbeg, at Erivan. The little French he spoke was difficult to be understood, for it was mixed with great numbers of Italian and Latin words, forming altogether a most beautiful jargon. He had been at St. Petersburg, talked much of the honors he had received there; but, like a true Perso-Armenian, considered Persia not only as superior to every other place in the world, but, in short, as the only place in it in which any man would live by choice. This confirmed the opinion I have always entertained, that had Meerza Bozurg's scheme for the settlement of these people been carried into execution, it would have produced an instant reaction of emigration of them from Russia, to the land of their fathers, so dearly cherished by their ancestors, and so frequently sighed for by themselves. I doubt whether a good, thorough-paced Julfa Ar-

menian, does not think the religious error of the Mohammedan lighter, and more excusable, than that of the Greek.

I ought not to have left Erivan without saying, that having carefully examined the nature and conditions of its fortifications, the repulse which the Russians met with in the year 1809, when they attempted to storm them, surprised me greatly; and if the result spoke highly in favor of Persian courage, it said but little in favor of either Russian bravery or science, provided the besieging army were serious, as there is every reason to consider that they were. Sir James Sutherland and myself viewed together this fortress, so highly vaunted by the Persians; and in every other part but that fronting the river, we could not refrain from smiling; on that side, indeed, nature has furnished it with a glorious rampart, formed by the almost perpendicular rock on which it stands.

Nor must I omit to mention, that from the Convent of Ouach Miatzin, Ararat presents its lofty peak, in great grandeur and magnificence. I am sorry to say, that the learning of the monks belonging to the convent, is by no means in proportion to the severity of their fasts and ordinances; and I am not sure that there is one amongst the whole who can read the Gospels in the language in which they were originally written. Of legends, of miracles, of visions, of martyrs, and of the appearances and defeats of the devil, their lore

was prodigious, and some of their accounts very amusing. The Patriarch's politeness and hospitality induced me to remain three days with him. When we parted early in the morning, at the door of the convent, to which the Patriarch attended me, in the very act of mounting my horse, he offered to present me with the oldest copy of the Scriptures (which he held in his hand) that the convent possessed. I would gladly have accepted it, if I had not thought that, taken from such a place, and offered by such a person, there would be something like sacrilege in receiving it.

We reached Erzeroom, without much to interest us in the course of our journey from Erivan, except the great rapidity, and consequently extreme force of the Arras at the place where we forded it; (which made it necessary for each baggage-mule to have two persons, one on the one side, and one on the other, to protect and support him during the transit; for if he stumbled and fell, the current, though shallow, was so strong, that he could not, by his own efforts, have regained his legs;) and, except the difference which we perceived, (with much regret) the moment we had crossed the frontier, between the manners of the Turks and those of the Persians. If a Turk, at Constantinople, considers it as adding to his consequence to be haughty and rude to a stranger, a Turk, on this frontier, seems to consider it *his duty* to be brutal and savage to him: and, on our

entrance into Erzeroom, I had the misfortune to witness as brutal an act of malignity as can well be imagined.

The day previous to our arrival there, I desired the Tartar who accompanied me, to take proper means to acquaint the Beglerbeg that we should reach Erzeroom about twelve o'clock the next day; that I hoped he would direct proper lodgings to be prepared for me; and that I was accompanied by a Persian nobleman, who had acted as my Mehmander throughout the Persian territories. I did not ask that we should be met at a certain distance from the city, but left that entirely to the discretion of the Beglerbeg. My excellent friend, the Effendi, with whom I had now become very intimate, dispatched a note to the Beglerbeg, by the same person who carried to him the Tartar's communication. The consequence was, that the next morning, about eleven o'clock, we were met about two miles distant from Erzeroom, by an inferior officer of the Beglerbeg's household, accompanied by about twenty horsemen, and perhaps fifty vagabond, savage, beggarly-dressed foot, who were stated to be janissaries, and whose presence I was desired to look on as a singular mark of honor and respect.

Ismael the Tartar, who had been long employed by me whilst I was at Bagdad; and whom I had requested Sir Stratford Canning to direct to proceed to Tauris for the purpose of accompanying

me through the Turkish territories to Constantinople, had witnessed not only the respect I had been accustomed to receive at Bagdad, but the marked attention shown to me by all ranks of persons in Persia. Consequently, on seeing what sort of *cortège* was sent to meet us, he came up to me, and said in Arabic—"Sir, I never saw a "greater set of scoundrels packed together than "those which the Beglerbeg has set out to meet "us; I am almost afraid, from some conversation "I have overheard, to trust you amongst them;" and sure enough I had not been long amongst them, before they gave me reason rather to regret than rejoice in their company.

In all Turkish processions or alloys, the firing of musquetry makes a part of the ceremony, and the customary compliments of meeting were scarcely finished between myself and the Turkish officer, before the redoubtable janissaries began to honor us with this mark of respect, which from the manner in which it was performed, we should have been better pleased if they had withheld; for I soon perceived from a certain noise in the air, that most of the musquets which they discharged were loaded with ball; and also that they were discharged without the smallest attention or care, how or where they were pointed. My Persian servants, whose attachment to me was not stronger than mine to them, kept close to me, and Hyder Ally Khan, though brave and bold as a

lion, began to show that his situation was by no means pleasant to him.

I had caused the Tartar once or twice to mention to the Beglerbeg's officer our joint wish that the firing of the musquetry should cease; but either he could not or he would not put a stop to it. At last, just as we were entering the city, one of the Persian servants of the Khan received a ball in his thigh, which most unfortunately broke it. This caused, as well as it might, a great deal of confusion. The Turks instantly, loudly, and warmly asserted that it was an accident, and that they were extremely sorry it should have happened; but both the Khan and myself, from what we saw, were very little inclined to consider it as such.

I consulted for a minute with the Khan, and told him it was necessary on the spot to determine whether we should consider what had taken place as *an accident,* or as *an intended piece of brutality*—in the first case, there was no impropriety in our entering the city—in the other, my opinion was, that we should immediately order our tents to be pitched, remain where we were, and consult together what future measures were most advisable to be pursued—adding, however, that the adoption of the latter would, in the present situation of things at Tæheran and Constantinople, naturally bring with it such serious consequences, as made me but little desirous to recom-

mend it, particularly as it would not improve the condition of the poor sufferer. The Khan, as I expected, was at first violent, but I calmed him by saying "My dear Hyder Ally, remember we are "directed by your master, the Prince, to act to- "gether, and it is my opinion it will be better to "enter the city and communicate this resolution "in such terms to the Turkish officer, as will "not prevent our afterwards taking such mea- "sures as may seem best to us: I will therefore "desire Ismael, the Tartar, to report that we are "willing, until it shall be farther investigated, to "consider what has happened as *an accident.*" The Effendi had left us some time before the affair took place; and it was fortunate he had done so, for the Khan spoke Turkish well, and was in such a towering passion, that he probably would have said something which would have wounded the feelings of that amiable person, for which I should have been very sorry.

Under this arrangement we entered the city; and after consulting together for some time, we determined to address a joint note to the Beglerbeg, which our friend, the Effendi, undertook to deliver to him. The composition of this note was left to me. The principal point urged in it was, that by prompt and signal satisfaction, the Beglerbeg would prevent the Khan and myself from going into any further investigation of this most unfortunate and extraordinary business;

which, in such case, we were willing (though rather against our conciences) to consider as *an accident,* principally with a view to prevent more serious discussions on the subject both at Tæheran and Constantinople. The satisfaction demanded in the note was—that an officer of high rank should be instantly despatched to the Shah to apologise to his Majesty for what had happened; that he should be accompanied by the Turk who had fired the musquet, and be dealt with according to his Majesty's pleasure; and that a liberal compensation should be made to the poor sufferer.

To this Note an answer was not received till the following morning, though the Effendi had been promised that an answer should be returned the same evening. When the answer reached us, it was found to be evasive and shuffling, which induced me to try my hand at a single shot at the Beglerbeg.—In this I told him; "that if some "thing satisfactory was not done in the course of "two hours, the Khan and myself should consider "ourselves compelled to go into a minute exami- "nation of the whole affair; and that having col- "lected all the evidence and information we could "on the subject, and having drawn up, as eye "witnesses, a fair and impartial report, we should "dispatch one copy of those papers to His Persian "Majesty, and another to the British Ambassador, "and Persian Chargé d'Affaires, at Constantinople; "that with the former a Persian chapper would

" be dispatched in the evening to Tæheran, whilst " Ismail Tartar would at the same time start off " with the latter for Constantinople,"—concluding with—" your Excellency must be aware, that the " British Ambassador and the Persian Chargé " d'Affaires will probably think it right to demand " your removal from your Government, and though " I am sorry for it, there is a greater probability " that the King of Persia will demand your Ex- " cellency's head."

This last note had not been long delivered before the Effendi came to us; he told us, that the Beglerbeg had sent for him, shewn him my note, and asked his advice as to the manner in which he should act, complaining bitterly, however, at the same time, of the expressions I had made use of to him; the Effendi then proceeded to say, that he had told the Beglerbeg, that he believed I had said nothing in the note, but what was very likely to happen, if he persisted in refusing proper satisfaction for the serious insult which had been offered to the Khan and myself, and that he had advised him to write me a very civil answer to my note, and to inform me that he had deputed the Effendi to make such arrangements with us as might be satisfactory to both.

The Effendi then delivered to me a note from the Beglerbeg, and we began to consult together what should be done.

The first thing that we insisted on was that the

man who had fired the musquet should be sent to Tæheran. Now, reader, prepare to hear something strange, but which will give you a tolerable idea of what sort of power the Beglerbeg possessed in the city and province, and perhaps give you some idea of the cause which afterwards rendered their capture so easy to the Russians. After a good deal of beating about the bush, and finding the Khan and myself steadily persisting in our demand, the Effendi said in a hesitating voice :—" My kind " friends, I am compelled to confess to you that " which I would willingly conceal ; the offender " is a janissary, and such is the state of insubordi- " nation and power of that corps in this city, that " if the Beglerbeg attempts to send him to Tæhe- " ran in the manner you desire, it will be fol- " lowed by an immediate insurrection, the ultimate " consequences of which, if it takes place, it is im- " possible to foresee. The power of all the offi- " cers appointed by the Porte along the whole " Turkish frontiers bordering on Russia and Per- " sia, is extremely feeble ; the real power is in the " hands of the Ions* and janissaries, and I am " sorry to say, you have had an unfortunate spe- " cimen how brutal the latter are. After this " confession, I must leave it to your prudence and " good judgment, to withdraw or persist in such " a demand."

It was now concluded that the man should be

* Principal men.

sent to us to express his sorrow (which he did very coarsely) for what had happened; that a person of rank should be sent to make a proper apology to the Shah, and that a liberal compensation should be made to the sufferer.

This accident, (if accident it was) evidently rendered any confidential communication with the Beglerbeg, from the Prince Royal, useless, and convinced me that how intimately soever the Courts of Tæheran and Constantinople might be brought to approximate to each other, still Persia could not rationally expect from these brutal Turks on the frontier, a hearty co-operation, even where their mutual interests might be most virtually concerned.

I moved out of Erzeroom to pursue my journey a day before the Effendi, and pitched my little tents, according to the old Persian rule, at a short distance from the city, where, the next day, I was joined by the Effendi, and from whence I took leave of Hyder Ally Khan, and my other Persian friends, and proceeded on my way towards Constantinople. The country between Erzeroom and Tocat is beautifully romantic, and where we fell in with the Euphrates, it is a stream about the size of the Severn at Shrewsbury; its banks, in several places, are as picturesque as can be possibly imagined. The weather we experienced was much like that in England in the same month, with every now and then a violent thunderstorm.

We had not journied above six or seven days from Erzeroom before we found that there were few of the villages at which we arrived, where the plague was not raging; and in a little *cofla*, or caravan, which joined us from one of them, there was more than one accident happened. In the districts through which we passed, it did not seem to me that the cultivation of corn much exceeded what the consumption required,—the flocks were numerous; the pasturages extremely rich; and the mountains, in many places, contained qualities of fine timber of the Turkey and common oak and beech.

The country between Tocat and Constantinople has been so often described by others, that I shall confine myself to saying, that we safely reached the Turkish capital, and were there received by Sir Stratford Canning with that hospitality and politeness for which he was so much distinguished during his residence at Constantinople.

Whilst I remained at Constantinople, I was invited to a public audience of the Grand Vizir, which Sir Stratford very politely gave me his sanction to attend; and at which I publicly received the thanks of the Porte for my conduct towards the Turkish Minister in Persia, and for the services I had formerly rendered to the Porte at Bagdad. Almost immediately on my return from this interview, a very valuable snuff box, richly set with diamonds, was sent from the Porte to Sir Stratford, with a desire that he would pre-

sent it to me, which he did, accompanied by a letter to him from Mr. Berto Pisani, the then first Dragoman to His Majesty's Embassy at the Porte. This letter stated, that he, Mr. Barto Pisani, had been charged by the Porte with the delivery of the box for me, to Sir Stratford, and also charged with a very flattering message, implying that the Porte never could forget the services I had rendered her in Egypt, at Bagdad, and in Persia.

I must also not forget, that during my stay, my worthy friend, the Effendi, was constantly sending me presents of fruits and flowers, both exquisite in their kinds, and in short, taking every other means in his power to manifest how much he felt my conduct towards him in Persia.

That great man, (in the highest and best sense of the words in which they can be applied) the late Lord Collingwood, had ordered to Constantinople, H. M. ship, La Pomone, for the purpose of conveying the Persian Ambassador, (if he accompanied me) and myself, from thence to England. She was commanded by Captain Robert Barrie, a gentleman whose high professional character, amiable and polite manners, are too well known to require that I should dwell on them. The frigate, as usual, lay off the Dardanelles, so that when we proceeded to her, we embarked at Constantinople, on board a Greek vessel, bound for the then happy, but since most unfortunate island of Scio. Immediately before La Pomone had been

dispatched on her present voyage, she had, under the command of Captain Barrie, fought a most desperate and successful action against some French ships and batteries in Cicogne Bay, in the island of Sardinia; it is true, she had, in her way to Constantinople, been ordered to touch at Malta, that she might there receive such repairs as could be speedily effected; but her commander, after all, considered her, as to the sea, to be in a state of weakness, rather than strength.

Our passage from the Dardanelles to Malta was neither a very good, nor a very bad one, but as we were put under quarantine on our arrival, and only allowed to row about one of the harbours in the barge, I had but a very imperfect sight of the works, and consequently of their real strength and magnitude; still, however, I saw enough to excite my wonder and astonishment. General Oakes did me the honor of coming under the stern of La Pomone, for the purpose of paying his compliments to me, and I conversed with him from the cabin windows. A circumstance happened, simple in itself, but which afterwards made a strange impression on the mind of many a brave fellow on board La Pomone.

A bomb-boat put off from the shore towards the ship, she was rowed by Jews, who were also owners of the merchandise she contained:—on nearing the vessel, one of the petty officers desired the Jews to keep off; whilst the officer was otherwise em-

ployed, the Jews and their boat contrived to get under the bows of the ship, and finding their trade positively interdicted, they, in revenge, nailed a piece of copper against her bow :—when this was discovered, there seemed to be a general opinion amongst the men, and some of the inferior officers, that poor old La Pomone would never reach England in safety.

From Malta we touched at Cagliari, where Mr. Hill, our Minister, received me very politely. He gave me a hint that some kind of change might probably soon take place in the politics of Russia, and delivered into my charge a packet, which he told me, that it was of the utmost consequence that Marquis Wellesley, who was then Secretary of State for foreign affairs, should, if possible, receive before Lord William Bentinck sailed from England. Having a leading brisk wind through the Straits, the view of Gibraltar was more brief than I could have wished; still, however, I had the pleasure of seeing that which I had all my life longed to behold, that fortress which every Britain reads of with delight, and views (if such be his luck) with pride and astonishment.

I was now fast approaching, what most persons in my situation, frequently term the "happy shores" of Old England. But, alas! to me, except in the blessing of my own family, the great kindness with which I was received by several old and attached friends, and the notice renewed

to me, which, for some time, I had invariably received from two persons of the highest birth, and purest and most ancient nobility, (one of whom has but a little time since ceased to exist) the "happy shores" of Old England were shores of disappointment, and of literal and metaphorical shipwreck!

About 1 P. M. (as near as I recollect) on the 11th of October, 1811, La Pomone made the Bill of Portland, which a fog, that had rested on the water from daylight to that hour cleared away, and allowed us to see very distinctly. In a conversation with Captain Barrie, I understood from him, that going through the Needles would probably accelerate our arrival at Portsmouth by some hours; in consequence of which, I told him all that Mr. Hill had told me of the importance it was, that the dispatches he had given into my charge should reach the Foreign Office before Lord William Bentinck sailed: and, indeed, as far as was prudent, I communicated to him a part of what had passed between Mr. Hill and myself. Barrie, with that zeal for the promotion of the public service which he uniformly displayed, immediately determined to pass through the Needles.

As the ship approached these formidable rocks, the twilight commenced; and when we had to pass the point of risk, night was setting fast in. The breeze was light, every sail La Pomone could carry

was spread; and if the sight was grand, it was at the same time most awful, for the surge from under the vessel appeared to rebound against the rock, and it seemed as if, from the quarter-deck, one might touch the great Needle with a walking-cane. The Master, according to the rules of H.M. Navy, had the charge of steering the vessel; but Barrie's anxiety had induced him to take a position forwards: at once I heard him call out, "Hurst Light is open!"—and instantly repeat, "the Light is open, by God!"—running at the same time toward the quarter-deck. The Master still hesitated to give the necessary steering order, and whilst they were speaking, (for it was all matter of an instant) poor La Pomone struck, never to swim again. In less than ten minutes, her masts were all by the board—her gallant trim all destroyed;—and, in ten more, the powder was in such a state, that we could no longer make signals with cannon. Our first attempt naturally was to endeavour to get the vessel off the rock on which she had struck, in which, if we had succeeded, more of us would have been lost than saved; for, from the injury she had received, it was afterwards manifest, that she must have gone down the instant she floated into deep water. The tide was ebbing, and therefore against the pilot-boats, from Yarmouth, reaching us, in consequence of our having, in the early part of our misfortune, signalised them. It was about twelve

at night when the first of them reached us; and, long before that, it was evident there was not the smallest chance of the ship being saved; but it was not quite so clear, that the rising of the tide might not lift her off the rock into deep water, where she would certainly slip from under us,—this was, therefore, a matter of some anxiety, and made many anxious to quit her as soon as possible.*

The order and subordination which now reigned on board La Pomone, spoke volumes in praise of Captain Barrie: as the pilot-boats arrived, the men were drafted into them by roll-call, the sick and infirm first, and then the marines: no breaking open liquor—no pilfering—but one deep expression of sorrow for Barrie, and one loud lament on the fate of "old Mother Pomone!"

I had with me most admirable servants, thoroughly attached to me, particularly a young Frenchman of the name of Rivoire,—to these I left the care of such articles of value belonging to me as they could save—and admirably they performed their duty: for myself, my only care was Mr. Hill's packet; and early in the business, Barrie was so good as to place the jolly-boat, with two

* Had the accident happened the night before, when we learnt a gale was blowing, few of us could have been saved to tell our tale; and even now the sky looked wild, and the upper clouds were moving at a rate sufficiently rapid to justify an apprehension that the nearly calm we were then experiencing, would not be of long duration.

hands in her, astern, to be ready for me whenever I should think fit to leave the vessel.

The effect our misfortune had at first on the minds of some of our passengers, was comical enough. Barrie, at Malta, had received a general officer, as passenger, on board. This gentleman weighed some twenty stone, or more, and was, beside, grievously afflicted with the gout; and though he might have manifested great bravery and courage, in standing fire, this did not appear to be the case, "in standing water." For in his impatience to be saved, he stripped himself to his drawers, got out on the boltsprit to jump into the sea, acknowledging at the same time that he could not swim. Had he been permitted to effect his wish, God knows he would soon have found he possessed one of Falstaff's least valuable qualities, "a prodigious alacrity in sinking."

There was another gentleman, a London tradesman (I believe,) whom the lieutenants, with that hospitality which eminently distinguishes the least paid force in His Majesty's service, had, at Malta, admitted to a passage and their mess. Five minutes after La Pomone had struck, this gentleman came upon deck with a degree of wildness and fear marked in his face that was quite pitiable. He came up to me. Now the Needle Rock, from the quarter-deck, where we were, absolutely appeared to hang over the ill-fated vessel. "O! Sir!" said he, "the

VIEW of the NEEDLES on which LA PONONE was WRECKED.

From an original oil painting by Miss Sewell.

On Stone by I. Haghe.

Jno. E. Haghe Lith.r to the King.

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" rock! the rock!" Sir James Sutherland, who was by me, and loves to his heart a piece of waggery, immediately said to him, " Dear Sir, there " is no rock there, what you see is the mizen sail, " and we shall soon be afloat, but she will start " with a tremendous lurch, and I advise you to go " below and take care of your things, that when " this happens they do not roll over one another." The poor man became calm in an instant, and said to Sir James, " Thank you, Sir," and went quietly down to protect his things tumbling about when La Pomone should start from the rock.

The curses against the Maltese Jews now became not only *deep* but loud; and when it was clear poor La Pomone was lost beyond hope of recovery, a deputation from the seamen came aft to Barrie, desiring permission to cover her figure head with what they were pleased to call crape, but was, in fact, a black tarpaulin.

It verged now towards two in the morning. I had remained with Barrie as long as I could be of any use or comfort to him—he now pressed me to leave the wreck, and the jolly-boat was hauled alongside accordingly—but stop, before I get into her, let me pay a just and well-merited tribute to the care and tenderness which Sir James Sutherland, under this trying scene, paid to the Persian boys, who on their part, regarded him in the light of a parent. The little boat, after shipping many a sea, arrived safe at the Escort gun brig, where

I was received with great kindness by the Lieutenant in command, and my arrival reported to the Admiral off Yarmouth. Being, however, something of the wettest, and extremely cold, I sat up the remaining part of the night drinking hot grog, with my noble commander. God knows my poor head suffered for it the next day, so much so, that when I came to write a letter to my wife, to tell her I was safe, and which I designed to put into the post-office at Portsmouth, I found the alphabet, or at least my alphabet, contained more letters, and of more curious forms, than the most skilful grammarian had ever placed there.

It was after three in the evening before I landed at Portsmouth. I went strait to the office of the Port Admiral, Sir Roger Curtis, to report the unfortunate loss of the Pomone, and to request of him that my arrival with dispatches of great importance from our Minister as Cagliari, for Marquis Wellesley, might be immediately telegraphed, as well as that if Lord William Bentinck had not sailed, his departure might be delayed till these dispatches had reached Lord Wellesley's hands. This and some other little things relating to personal comfort prevented my leaving Portsmouth till near half-past five.

I had intended to proceed to London without stopping on the road, but, on reaching Liphook, I found myself so much exhausted, that I was

obliged to lie down for a little time, and accordingly I desired that a chaise and four might be ready at one, and that at that time I should be called. Shortly after that hour I started from Liphook, and I had not proceeded above two miles before I was awoke from sleep, and found the chaise overturned in a ditch, but prevented from falling quite to the ground by the bank which supported the hedge: excepting this accident, which caused some delay, I reached London safely on the 12th October, 1811, about five o'clock in the morning. I drove immediately to Downing-street, and lodged there, in proper hands, the dispatches for Marquis Wellesley.

I arrived in London with no more clothes than those on my back, and, as far as I then knew, of what part of my chattels had been saved from the wreck, I might say *omne meum mecum porto.* These clothes were extremely soiled from what happened on board La Pomone, and in the boats, and to make myself tolerably decent to appear before Lord Wellesley, I was obliged to borrow a clean shirt from the master of the hotel at which I took up my lodgings.

About 12 o'clock, Marquis Wellesley granted me an audience. The reception I met with was such as a high-minded, kind-hearted, nobleman, fully acquainted with our interests in Persia, was likely to give. In the first place, his lordship was pleased to say I had acted very judiciously in

putting the telegraph to work at Portsmouth, as the dispatches from Mr. Hill were of great consequence, and he then paid me many compliments, *on the whole of my* conduct in Persia, and at the end of a very long conversation on this subject, I took the liberty of saying, "I doubt, my lord, if "the value of what I have done in Persia is fully "understood in this country by anybody but your-"self." His lordship replied, "Indeed, it is, and "by no one better than the Prince Regent."

It is my wish now to write as if I were talking to my pillow, and tell all I did whether favorable or unfavorable to myself; to disclose all I received whether adequate or inadequate to my expectations; to express my sincere gratitude to those who endeavoured to assist me; and to tell such of those who rose up against me, as are now alive, that though, I was blockhead enough to feel greatly disappointed and vexed at the time, yet my heart did rebound from such petty sorrows, though to be assailed by one which I shall carry with me to the grave. He whose elegant mind composed the following most beautiful lines knows well that for wounds of this sort there is no cure, nor any soothing balm but—religion.

"Oh thou! with whom my heart was wont to share
"From reason's dawn each pleasure and each care;
"If thy blest nature now unites above
"An angel's* pity with a Seraph's love,

* "In heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage, "but are like the angels."

" Still o'er my life preserve thy mild controul,
" Correct my views and elevate my soul;
" Grant me thy peace and purity of mind,
" Devout, yet cheerful, active, yet resigned.
" Grant me like thee, whose heart knew no disguise,
" Whose blameless wishes never aim'd to rise,
" To meet the changes time and chance present
" With modest dignity, and calm content."* ROGERS.

On leaving England for Persia, a part of the instructions I received from the King was, to prevail on the Shah to appoint a resident Persian Minister to this country, which I had arranged with His Persian Majesty, and a person in this capacity was nominated to accompany me whenever I might return. The first communications I received from my successor, Sir Gore Ouseley, informed me that this part of my instructions was cancelled; but in the despatches which I received from His Majesty's Ministers at the same time, not one word of this was mentioned. Nevertheless I made an immediate communication of it to the Shah, with whom, when I came to converse on the business, I found it made an impression which was anything but favorable to my veracity.

In all my transactions with the Shah and his ministers, and indeed with the Persians in general, I had never ventured to assert anything of which I had the least doubt, and their good opinion of me in this respect had hitherto been so established, that however contrary to their judgment anything I said appeared, it nevertheless was easily credited. Here then, just as I was about to leave the country, I was attacked, and

* " A broken spirit, O God, thou wilt not despise."

attacked by the Shah himself, on a point on which at least I was most anxious to leave behind me an unblemished reputation;—to preserve which I would willingly have sacrified anything belonging to me; and for this purpose, and to prove to the Shah beyond a doubt, that I had been authorised to ask for the appointment of a resident minister, I made use of the translation of a private letter to me from a friend in office;—towards that excellent and lamented person my offence was great, because being reported by Sir Gore Ouseley, it brought censure upon him from the minister of the day, Mr. Perceval,—but towards the public, in God Almighty's name, what crime did I commit? yet, if I had robbed the East India Company of as many hundred thousands of pounds* as I saved for them,—if I had vilified my Sovereign to the Persians, instead of uniformly telling them, that next to *my God*, my duty and reverence were due to *the king*,—I could not have been blamed by a certain class of people more than I was for this simple act of self-defence; and all this was told me even before I was admitted to Marquis Wellesley. I therefore at this interview laid before his lordship the same account of the transaction which I have just given the reader; Lord Wellesley's answer was the reply of a noble mind and a nobleman:—"I am sorry "you were forced to disclose the contents of a "private letter; but no man is bound to submit

* Vide the beautiful scheme for seizing on the Island of Carrack by force.

" to an accusation so nearly affecting his honor, " when he has the means in his hands of proving " it unfounded."

Lord Wellesley expressed himself greatly pleased with my having brought to England two Persian youths of good family for their education,—instantly gave the most liberal directions for the establishment of them under the care of Sir James Sutherland,—and a few days afterwards ordered me to present them to him at Apsley House, where he received them in the kindest manner:—all this, as long as my lord continued in office, was continued to them; but afterwards "there arose a King in Egypt who knew not Joseph," who had a minister, Mr. Cooke, who, let him be as able as ability itself, was to the full, in his manners, as rough as he was able; and knew about as much of Persia as my tom-cat.

These were not the only acts of kindness which I received from Marquis Wellesley. He told me to make out an estimate of my loss by the shipwreck of La Pomone, and assured me that it should be made good to me; and to prepare myself as quick as possible for the honor of a private audience of the Prince Regent, which an unfortunate accident, which happened to his Royal Highness, did not permit me to receive before the following month of January.

I reported at the India House, after the delivery to the chairman of the Shah's letter, the whole of the presents I had received,—the one thousand tomans, the two snuff-boxes, &c.; and I heard after-

wards that there had been a discussion amongst the directors, whether I should not be required to deliver them up. Had this been so determined, my intention was to have put the articles into the hands of Marquis Wellesley, with a request to his lordship, that they might, with an expression of my deepest gratitude towards the donors, be returned to them. My reception at the India House, except from one dear person, was that of a culprit, instead of that of a person who had spared neither *body nor mind* to promote the interests of the company.

Some little time after my arrival, it was intimated to me that the Court of Directors were preparing to scrutinize my accounts. This was attempted, but it was found that the nail would not drive; not because the Court of Directors were not willing to strike hard enough with the hammer, but because the wood into which the nail was to driven was oak, tough and honest enough by nature to resist any force they could apply to the instrument.

When Marquis Wellesley resigned the seals of the Foreign Office, I had no hope of notice from Lord Castlereagh, nor prospect of reward from the India House, though it was clear I had saved the Company the expenditure of "crores of rupees," that is—millions of money. I was therefore advised by some of my best friends to lay my case before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the shape of a petition. The Regent received this

address to him most graciously, and was pleased to express his commands to the Directors that something should be done for me. After a long discussion amongst themselves, and a division on the question, they voted me a present of £5000, which I refused to accept, and reported their resolution to Colonel Mac Mahon, who then held the distinguished office of private secretary to the Regent. He expressed his surprise, and told me he knew it was His Royal Highness's most gracious intention, that something handsome should be done for me; however, there were other speakers on my business at Carlton-House besides myself; and the next time I saw the Colonel, he told me the Regent was very sorry, but his Royal Highness could do no more.

I then asked the Court of Directors for employment. I was answered that the service in India was open to me;—which being translated, is,—"Return to India, where you have appeared as "the King's Envoy, with our brand on your back, "with the rod of Lord Minto hanging over you." —If this be not adding insult to injury, I know not what is.

Refused employment in all shapes in which I could with honor and even safety to myself enter it,* and my family requiring to be in London to

* I asked to succeed to their agency at the Cape of Good Hope—I asked to succeed to their agency at Constantinople—both refused; surely, neither of these appointments were beyond my pretensions, after *thirty years' service*,—but I was willing to take any thing *I could* take, for the *sake of my family*,—and both these appointments were given to persons who had never been in the Company's service.

finish their education, a friend, partly with my consent, notified to the Court of Directors, that I would accept the £5000; it was then put to the vote whether it should be given to me or not, and it was carried in the affirmative, by the casting vote of the chairman. And now, reader, how do you think it was paid? My salary was to be the same as that which I received at Bagdad, *paid in England, without any deduction;* but when the Court of Directors came to make this grand present, they made me pay the income tax on my salary, and deducted it from their present, so their gift was reduced to £3,636!

Now, perhaps some reader may be inclined to say, "why, you unconscionable fellow, £3,636 is "more than you and your services are worth put "together:" may be so; but, my worthy friend, please to recollect, that I saved the Company, according to the judgment of those best entitled to pronounce it, some *crores of rupees!* But, reduce the sum to one million of money; on which 1 per cent commission is £10,000; remember also, that through the friendship of Meerza Bozurg, I defrayed the whole disbursements of the Mission for nine months, for which any other person but myself must have borrowed money at 30 per cent., or any other interest he had been asked: now, in nine months, these disbursements, including civil and military pay, table expenses, &c., could not have been less than £40,000—30 per cent. on this, £9,000: please also to recollect, that by taking charge of this Mission, I

thought myself bound in honor not to accept the offer most liberally made me by my brother civil servants at Bombay, of placing my name on the Civil Fund, from which, from the instant I arrived in England, I should have received an annuity of £400 per annum.* Turn all these things in your mind, and then vaunt if you can, either the generosity or the justice of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company towards myself.

I beg to say, that I have related all this without the smallest idea or wish to whine about what has happened.† I have seen enough, and lived long enough, to know, that "the battle is not always to "the strong, nor the race to the swift;" that "time "and chance happen to all men;" and that he, who

* I should now have enjoyed this annuity twenty-two years, making £8,800., deduct £1,000., which I should have paid to have my name put on the list—clear, £7,800! and further more, I should at this moment be in the enjoyment of that which, after my late losses, would be extremely convenient, an annuity for life of £400 per annum.

† It may not, however, be out of the way, just to lay before the reader how differently the Envoy from the Governor-General, the Envoy from the King, and the King's Ambassador, were paid.

Sir John Malcolm, during his four years travels in Persia, received £10,000 per annum, and 1000 rupees a month for Lady Malcolm's expenses during his absence.

Sir Gore Ouseley received £12,700 per annum, a pension of £2000 per annum, and the Privy Council, when he came home.

I received £3,343 per annum, out of which I had to support a family; I lost an annuity of £400, which I might have had; and I got £3,636 as a compensation for being obliged to quit a service to the head of which I had arrived after 31 years standing, and *twenty-three of active and hard employment!*

And though I hope our Saviour's parable of the Lord of the vineyard has been profitably read and pondered on by me, still I cannot consider that the lord of that vineyard in which I consented, at his price, to labour, used me well, or acted like an honest man, when, at the end, and after bearing all the burthen and heat, of the day, he paid me *three farthings*, instead of a *penny*.

like myself, has lived beyond what the inspired writer says, are "the days of our age," and sets his heart very much on that which man can either give him or withhold from him, has a mind differently formed to mine.

I feel that there is work in me yet, if I could get it; but I certainly do pray, that even in my humble situation, by some means or other, God, in his good providence, will afford me an opportunity of manifesting my deep, grateful, and indelible sense of his present Majesty's most gracious condescension towards me. And now, my young readers, if any such I shall have, and any of you happen hereafter to be employed as I have been, preserve in your memories and minds these words, and exhibit them in your practice:—

"Keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that "is right, for that shall bring a man peace at last."

FEAR GOD, HONOR THE KING,
SERVE YOUR COUNTRY:

leave the rest to that great and good Being

"*Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,*
"*A hero perish, or a sparrow fall.*"

VALE.

NOTES TO THE MISSION.

NOTES TO THE MISSION.

NOTE I.

"*Interest of Money.*"—Page 16.

It is curious to observe the same reasoning on the purchase of large jewels, put forth by the oriental jeweller, Hajee Eusoof.—Vide p. 144.

NOTE II.

"*More of this Jewel.*"—Page 16.

Having already stated my opinion, that it was preferable all the presents in Persia should be made in money, there appears an inconsistency in my providing other things for that purpose, but I could not foresee such a "God-send" as this diamond, by which the Company, at the expense of £10,000, gave the Shah that which he estimated at 20,000*l.* or 25,000*l.*—Vide page 144.

NOTE III.

"*This most remarkable and gallant Action.*"—Page 25.

Since the account taken from the Asiatic Register was extracted for this volume, Captain Jenkin Jones, of the Royal Navy, has, much to his honor, vindicated the character of his old commander, by a plain, simple, but most interesting narrative of the whole events which took place, both preceding, and in the battle. The reader will be pleased to remark, that this gallant officer not only was in the battle, but bore a distinguished part in it. I beg, therefore, such of my readers as are interested about the character of Captain Corbett, to refer to the forty-seventh number of the United Service Journal, page 162, in which they will find a letter from Captain Jones, which contains, a complete refutation of the egregious

falsities which appear to have been imposed on Captain Basil Hall, both in respect to the mutiny, and the action with the French frigates. My deep and sincere respect for the memory of my lamented friend, compels me to say, that when the posthumous fame and character of a brother officer were at stake, it would have been better not to have given so hastily to the world an account so totally different from what actually took place.

NOTE IV.

" Abdullah Aga, a Turk."—Page 30.

I do not know who is the author of " Sketches of Persia," but he has taken upon himself to give an account of a conversation between himself and Abdullah Aga, the nature of which astonishes me beyond measure; for he has put into that gentleman's mouth the following most remarkable words :—

" Abdulla Aga is a man in whose company I take great plea-
" sure. His understanding is vigorous and strong, and he has
" sufficient knowledge of the English character to speak his senti-
" ments with freedom and confidence. I shall give the substance
" of a conversation I had with him about two weeks after my
" arrival, regarding the present condition of Persia and Turkey,
" with the resources and character of both which states he is inti-
" mately acquainted. Speaking of Turkey, he said he had no
" idea of its having the power to resist the slightest attack; and,
" he believed, if left alone, it would soon fall to pieces of itself.—
" ' I am myself a Turk, and know my countrymen well: from the
" Grand Seignor to the lowest peasant in the empire, they are
" alike devoid of public virtue and patriotism; and that spirit of
" religion, which has long been the only bond of union that has
" kept this unwieldy state together, is every day becoming fainter;
" and while the Wahâbees are making converts of the inhabitants
" of Arabia and Syria, the provinces of Turkey in Europe are
" relaxing from their religious zeal, and becoming every day more
" ripe for the rule of those Christian nations, under whose power
" they must soon fall.'

" I could not help saying I thought he drew an overcharged

" picture of the weak and distracted state of his country. ' You
" will soon see,' he said, ' whether I am right or wrong. No man,
" whatever may be his rank, looks beyond his beard in Turkey:
" if he can find any expedient that gives him a prospect of its
" growing grey in quiet, he is content; and where all are so
" decidedly selfish in their views, who is to provide for the safety
" of the state, to guard which there must be some common senti-
" ment of union ?'

" ' What think you of Persia ?' I asked. ' Why, twenty times
" worse than of Turkey,' replied he; ' because they are to the full
" as devoid of every public principle, and much more ignorant.
" Believe me, you will soon be satisfied that they deserve this cha-
" racter. Can there be a doubt at the present moment, how they
" ought to act between you and the French ? and yet you will be
" able to settle nothing with them that is in the least satisfactory
" without heavy bribes or harsh measures. The latter,' he added,
" ' will be the wisest in the present instance; for to feed their
" cupidity is only to whet their appetite, and to encourage them
" in a course that will, in its result, prove as injurious to these
" short-sighted fools as to the interests of the English govern-
" ment.'

" ' The Elchee's intentions are so friendly,' I observed in reply,
" ' and his wishes so correspond with their true interests, that they
" must, I think, meet them, when all the advantages are ex-
" plained.'—' Before you anticipate success from such an expla-
" nation, you should be certain that those to whom you speak have
" sense to comprehend you, which the Persians certainly have not.
" They think of nothing at this moment but the Russians, with
" whom they have discovered they are not able to contend. The
" French pretend to relieve them from this formidable danger,
" which they have not themselves the courage to face; and they
" cling to this promise without ever considering how far those who
" make it have the means of performing it. They neither under-
" stand the nature nor distance of the resources of England or
" France, and are consequently incapable of forming a correct
" idea of the comparative power which those states possess of

" aiding or injuring them. They know that Bombay is within a " month's sail, Madras six weeks, and Calcutta two months; and " they believe you have some ships at these places; but even of " these they have no clear idea; and as to Europe, they are as " ignorant as an Abyssinian.'

" ' Assuredly,' said I, ' you underrate their knowledge.' ' I " do not,' said Abdulla; ' they are worse than I have painted " them, and their ignorance is so fortified by pride that there is " no hope of their amendment. Why (said he, with animation) " what can you expect from men who are ignorant of the surface " of the globe? There,' said he, pointing to a rude Turkish book " on geography, which lay near him, and appeared to be a transla- " tion from an old geographical grammar—' there is the only " source of my knowledge, which does not place me on a par " with one of your school-boys of twelve years of age, and yet I " am a wonder among these fools, who are astonished at the " extent of my information in this branch of science.' "

Now, reader, let me trouble you with a few remarks on this precious nonsense. For *fourteen years* I knew Abdullah Aga, and I knew him through all the circumstances of life, which can produce the closest intimacy between man and man, lending him money, interfering in his behalf—to screen him from the wrath of his master, —affording him assistance in exile. That his understanding was vigorous and strong, there was not the least doubt; but that he ever spoke his sentiments, with freedom and confidence, to a person nearly a stranger to him, is, from that very circumstance, less likely to have happened, and, as far as I know of him, he must have changed his nature entirely before he would have done so. Is it not very comical that Mr. Peterson, or whoever he is, should have put into Abdullah Aga's mouth (in paragraphs three and four of this extract, almost word for word) the reasoning on Persia, which General Malcolm used with the government in India. Compare this supposed conversation of Abdullah Aga's, with the account contained of him in this volume, and then the reader will see, either that Mr. Peterson, or Harford Jones Brydges, has been dealing in fiction.

NOTE V.

" *My old and powerful friend, Meerza Bozurg.*"—Page 31.

The following extract is obligingly furnished to me by the politeness of the East India Company; and it is inserted here, to prove to the reader the intimate connexion that subsisted between us.

Extract of a letter, *ad sensum*, from Meerza Bozurg, to Mr. Harford Jones; *received* 11 *May*, 1802.

" My dear friend. The interest I take in everything which con-
" cerns you, and the attention which this government is desirous,
" on all occasions, of paying to yours, makes me tell you, I cannot
" think, from what I hear of the state of affairs at Bagdad, that
" your longer residence there can in any shape be safe, and makes
" me press you to leave it immediately, on receiving this letter;
" assuring you, at the same time, that orders have been given to
" the Governors of Kermanshah, Hamadan, and other places, to
" receive you, and the persons in your service, in the handsomest
" manner. The moment I know your determination to move from
" Bagdad, his Majesty will despatch a Mehmandar; and I would
" have you seriously consider, that the confusion of Bagdad will
" increase, and where can be the good of your remaining in it?
" *Remember, that in this country, there is no sort of accommoda-*
" *tion, convenience, or respect, which will not, most willingly, be*
" *afforded you.*"

" Your *cossid* (messenger) has got a random story of a French-
" man being arrived at Bussorah, and of his being on his way to this
" Court. As you have not written me anything on this subject, I
" pay no great attention to the tale; but if you know anything of
" this fellow's business, do not let me remain in ignorance of it one
" moment.

NOTE IV.

" *The envoy, or elchee, as the Persians.*"—Page 35.

This is a fine cock and a bull story of Mr. Peterson's.—Hajee Baba has not badly quizzed Persians and potatoes, but Peterson is

a much greater quizz, when he tells us the people at Bushire call them *Alou-el-Malcolm* (Malcolm's plum.) God help Mr. Peterson! In 1783, I ate potatoes at Bushire, at the table of Mr. Galley, our then resident there, who had planted them in the old Dutch garden,—who had strongly recommended them to the merchants, all of whom had expressed the same opinion about them, as the reader will see, if he reads what Meerza Bozurg said to me at Tauris, in 1810.

I find a note of my own stands thus. Much has been said on a certain publication of the advantage that the introduction of the potato root into Persia would confer on the inhabitants. It is impossible to deny that the introduction of any new edible vegetable into a country, if it comes into general use, is an advantage. Long before Sir John Malcolm visited Persia, I gave roots of this plant to several Persians, but I incline to believe the Persians will never hold it in high esteem, or make great use of it, except their whole style and system of cookery is completely changed; a plain boiled potato, which we consider as excellent, every Persian I have ever offered it to, considered as an abomination; and the way they treated it, always brought to my mind, what a Turkish gentleman once said to me at Bagdad. He had requested to taste a glass of English porter; he drank a part of it, and then gravely said to me:—"Do you drink this as physic, or for pleasure?"

A potato is so stubborn a substance in a Persian ragout, that I know from experience, no Persian *artiste*, when I was in the country, could or would undertake to produce it at table. It so happened, that after a long eulogium on this vegetable, which I had one day made to Meerza Bozurg, he desired me to give him a few of them, accompanied by directions how to dress them. I told him first to order his cook to boil them plain; if he disliked them that way, the cook might be directed to prepare them *en ragout;* and if that did not suit his taste, to order them to be served up roasted.

Some time afterwards, I asked him if he had made trial of the potatoes, and how he liked them. He answered he had tried them: boiled, they were eatable, but only as something to keep body and soul together; in ragout they were detestable; and roasted, not half so good as a chesnut,—adding, "O! what a taste you must

" have to put this coarse vegetable in comparison with God's most " precious gift, rice! or with the delicate bringal, the bohmian, " the cauliflower, the carrot, the bean, the harricot;" and when I told him potatoes were to us what rice was to the Persians, he playfully tapped me on the back, and said:—" You see God " Almighty provides the greatest of all delicacies, and the wholesomest of all food, for the faithful, and leaves you what is only fit " for badgers, porcupines, and squirrels."

NOTE VII.

" *When Hajee Kheleel expired at Bombay.*"—Page 36.

One mark of attention, esteemed by Marquis Wellesley proper to be shewn to the memory of the unfortunate Hajee Kheleel Khan, was to order that the corpse, in its transit from Bombay to Nejeff, where it was intended it should be buried, should be attended from Bombay to that place, by a civil servant of the Bombay establishment.

Now, for what I know, a Mohammedan in India, accustomed to consider the English as his sovereigns, and sometimes not over and above well instructed in the articles of his faith, might have considered such attendance as a *compliment*, but it seems some how or other to have escaped Marquis Wellesley, that that which might be considered as a compliment at Calcutta, might, in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, be regarded so improper as almost to become an insult.

The gentleman appointed to attend the corpse was Mr. Day, and he was accompanied by, or rather he accompanied, a very near relation of the deceased Khan. The corpse and escort arrived at Bagdad, just at the time when the medical gentleman attached to the residency, and myself, had satisfied ourselves that the plague had recommenced at Bagdad. Mr. Day's alarm on this account was so great, as to become most tormenting to himself and most ridiculous and troublesome to us, who had stood the plague the preceding year. I therefore re-shipped him for Bussora, as soon as possible, and undertook to receive and execute such wishes as the Khan's relation expressed to me.

The first conversation I had with him after Mr. Day's departure, convinced me how bitterly he had felt at Bussora, on the way from thence to Bagdad, and at Bagdad, the sarcasms uttered to him on the subject of a *cafer*, or infidel, attending the corpse of one of the faithful to the grave. The Persian moollahs, at the shrines of Nejeff Kerbela, and Kauzemeen, as well as the Persian merchants at Bagdad, were shocked; and on my applying to old Suleiman Paçha, for certain honors to be paid to the corpse, when removed from Bagdad, to be carried to Nejeff, he said :—

" Very well, as you desire it to be done, it shall be done; but " Hajee Kheleel lived an infidel, and with infidels, and therefore " was destined to hell; he was, however, murdered by infidels, and " so became a *shahyde*, (martyr) this gave him a chance of paradise; " but his former friends have robbed him of this chance, by de- " puting an infidel to attend his corpse to the grave; his fate " therefore, is now fixed, and you may carry him to the devil in " any manner you like best."

I will take this opportunity to mention, that in three years of plague at Bagdad, Mr. John Hine, the surgeon of the residency, never refused his assistance to any pestiferous person who required it, or would receive it,—that neither he nor I shut ourselves up, and that in respect to myself, passing one day on horse-back through the *porte cochère* of my house, a person, with the plague evidently upon him, clasped my knees, and besought me, for the love of God, that I would direct Mr. Hine to give him his assistance. I relieved myself from him as quick as possible, ran back into the house, and by Mr. Hine's advice, jumped, clothes and all, into a large cistern of cold water, which was always full, for the purpose of supplying the hot baths.

The period at which the plague appeared at Bagdád, was an extremely critical one, it being during the invasion of Egypt by the French, when the supplies of money sent by Suleiman Paçha, to the Grand Vizir, were vitally necessary for the payment and keeping together of the Turkish army, and it therefore became of the utmost importance to prevent the merchants and others from quitting the city, and thereby throwing the commerce of it, and the resources of the Paçhalic, into confusion. This I repeatedly

represented in memorials to the Paçha, who always answered he would remain in the city as long as I did; thinking, no doubt, I should cry *fire* first. Both of us, however, remained to see the end of the plague, and I to see *the end* of the excellent old Paçha, justly surnamed *Suleiman the Great*, and consequently the commencement of the ruin and delapidation of that great and splendid Paçhalik.

NOTE VIII.

"*Loss of his life in a very cruel and terrible manner.*"—Page 46.

He was actually cut into small pieces, in the presence of the Shah.

NOTE IX.

"*Battle of Moorchakoor.*"—Page 177.

" Les Aghvans rassemblés dans leur camp de Mochacor avoient " abandonné tout le pays qui étoit devant eux, de manière que le " Kan continua sa marche, non-seulement sans obstacle, mais " encore avec des facilités et des secours sur lesquels il ne comp- " toit pas. Il étoit reçu dans les villes où il passoit avec les accla- " mations et les épanchemens de joye qu'on devoit au liberateur " de la patrie; et les habitans de la campagne poussés du même " zèle accouroient en foule sùr sa route, et apportoient, de leur " propre mouvement, les vivres et les fourages dont on avoit " besoin.

" XVIII. Cependant Aschraf, qui connoissoit mieux la valeur " et la discipline des troupes à qui il avoit affaire, ne négligeoit " rien de ce qu'il jugeoit propre à contribuer au succès d'une action " qui alloit décider de son sort. Il avoit reconnu et choisi à loisir " l'emplacement de son camp; il s'attacha à placer avantageuse- " ment ses batteries et à les mettre hors d'insulte en les retranchant " avec soin, et ayant fait d'ailleurs toutes ses dispositions, il se flatta " de réparer par une seconde bataille les breches que celle de Da- " megan avoit faites à sa réputation et à ses forces.

" Une si douce illusion ne fut pas de longue durée. Le " dimanche treize de Novembre à huit heures du matin l'ennemi

" parut en ordre de bataille, et ne differa le moment de l'action,
" qu'autant qu'il le falloit pour reprendre haleine et pour mieux for-
" mer ses rangs.

" Tahmas-Couli-Kan instruit par expérience de la façon de com-
" battre des rebelles, sembloit n'avoir d'autre crainte que celle de
" manquer de tems pour rendre sa victoire complette. Il ne daigna
" pas faire usage de son canon : ses troupes ayant essuyé, sans
" s'ébranler, le feu de l'artillerie de l'ennemi, celui de la mousqueterie
" ne put les arrêter ; les Persans s'avancèrent en bon ordre et sans
" tirer, jusqu'aux batteries qui bordoient d'espace en espace le front
" de l'armée d'Aschraf, d'où ils firent à bout-touchant leur première
" décharge.

" Ils n'eurent pas le tems d'en faire une seconde ; elle n'étoit
" pas même nécessaire. Une attaque si fière et si brusque pouvoit
" suffire à déconcerter des troupes plus faites à combattre de pied-
" ferme que des Aghvans. Ils en furent si étonnés, que ne son-
" geant plus qu'à se soustraire au péril, ils tournèrent bride et
" reprirent au grand galop le chemin d'Ispahan.—*Hist. de Perse.*

NOTE X.

" *Dismiss with as little ceremony.*"—Page 201.

Compare this with Lord Minto's conduct in Corsica, to that lamented, gallant, and excellent, officer, the late Sir John Moore. Vide *Life of Sir John,* by his brother, Carrick Moore, Esq., and then determine whether the flaw was in the head or the heart.

NOTE XI.

PERDEHS, or CONAUTS.—Page 240.

Every one conversant with *Travels in Persia,* will recollect how constantly these Whirlwinds, or Sand Spouts, are mentioned as taking place in the large plains.

Whilst I was encamped with the Shah, in the plains of Sultania, the following droll, but provoking, accident happened. I was on the point of sending away a Tartar for Constantinople, with

dispatches for Sir Robert Adair, and for England: Mr. Sheridan and myself were employed in examining them previously to their being sealed. During this, the tent we were in became the centre of one of these moving whirlwinds. One side of the tent was instantly burst open, and every paper on the table carried rapidly, in spiral motion, into the air. We kept our eyes on them as long as we could, but of the major part we lost sight, and they were never recovered; some, however, that were not so forcibly acted on by the current of air, were found dispersed at a long distance from the tent, and brought to me by persons whom I had desired to watch their descent. Had there been a French Mission at that time in the Camp at Sultania, this accident might have been attended with great inconvenience, as many of them were papers which I should by no means have wished such a Mission to have obtained the sight of.

NOTE XII.

"*Prince Khosrow.*"—Page 264.

At all periods of the Persian empire, Eunuchs appear to have been possessed of considerable influence; under weak princes ruling the empire, or bestowing it on such of the royal family, as best suited their views. For instance, after the death of Shah Suleiman, putting aside the elder brother, Abbas, and placing the weak and imbecile Hussein on the throne. Under Darius Nothus, the Eunuch Artoxares formed the project of dethroning his master, and usurping his throne; and, according to Ctesias, he set about it in a very comical manner; that is, by putting on a false beard, and marrying a wife.—*Prideaux, Connection, p.* 212.

NOTE XIII.

"*But I very much doubt.*"—Page 284.

Compare this with what General Malcolm says of this person.

NOTE XIV.

WAKFS.—Page 304.

" Cet article important qui intéresse à-la-fois la religion et la " politique, démande à être développé avec quelque étendue.

" Chez les Mahometans, tous les biens consacrés aux temples " ou à des fondations pieuses, portent la dénomination générale de " Wakf, vulgairement dit Wakouf. Ce mot, qui répond a ceux " de cession, consignation, abandon dépôt, emporte cependant " dans son acceptation ordinaire l'idée d'une chose sacrée, d'un " objet voué aux besoins de l'humanité et du culte public, par un " sentiment de piété et d'amour envers Dieu. Ces Wakfs se par- " tagent en trois classes: la première comprend ceux des mosquées, " qui forment, pour ainsi dire, les biens ecclésiastiques de la " nation; la seconde, les Wakfs publics, ou fondations établies pour " le soulagement des pauvres et le bien général de l'humanité; la " troisième, les Wakfs coutumiers qui relèvent des mosquées."— *D'Ohsson, Tab. Gen. de l'Empire Ottomane.*

NOTE XV.

" *Three great projects.*"—Page 313.

One of these, the Turkish Alliance, the reader will see I had nearly the good fortune to assist in executing: it may be asked, did you communicate the other two to your successor, or the Government at home, on your return.

As to my successor, however great his abilities might have been, I could not put him in the same position with Meerza Bozurg as I was myself; and the little correspondence I had with him soon made me distinctly perceive what he thought of himself, and what he thought of me. And, as to Government, though the Shah desired that my opinion might be asked on all subjects regarding Persia, the regard my opinions were now likely to meet with in certain places, was pretty much like that which the sea is said to have paid to the commands of Canute.

NOTE XVI.

" One of the instruments."—Page 320.

It is more than probable, had His Majesty Lutf Ally Khan taken my advice, at Khestdt, I should never have seen England again. The reader will remember what Zal Khan said to me when he met me at Khestd: that Lutf Ally Khan repeatedly said:— " if ever I get hold of that Fringee again, he shall never leave me." And my respect, admiration, and love for this " true Lion of War," were such at that time, (I was not then married) that I cheerfully would have devoted my life to his service. Under him I should probably, therefore, have been a very influential person in Persia. Had I remained there in 1811, if the reader believes all I have told him, I should not, acting with Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg, have been a very insignificant one.

NOTE XVII.

Sir James Sutherland.—Page 351.

To this day I regret, and I am quite sure, that if the collections of Observations, Bearings, &c., which were made by him during our route from Tauris to Constantinople, had been saved from the wreck of *La Pomone*, the feeling for their unfortunate loss would have been with others the same as with myself.

NOTE XVIII.

Baron Wrede.—*From Mr. Sheridan's Journal.*

February, 1810.—11*th*. Meerza Bozurg arrived from Tæheran in eleven days.

12. Sir Harford had a conference with Meerza Bozurg at the latter's apartments, at the Palace. The Meerza appeared undetermined how to act with respect to Baron Wrede's Mission, and asked Sir Harford's advice. Sir H. has hitherto, in all matters connected with the politics of Russia, kept this principle in view— " That Persia is totally unequal to contend, single-handed, against " Russia; and that such a contest would only ultimately approxi-

"mate the views of Russia and France towards India." Unacquainted, therefore, with the sentiments of the King's Government, and uncertain what line of conduct the Porte would *be compelled to adopt*, (it having been determined, as Baron Wrede assured the Prince at his first audience, by France, Russia, and Austria, to divide her territories between them) Sir Harford wished to keep the thing in hand until the Turkish Ambassador (if coming at all) arrived. He accordingly recommended the Meerza's writing to General Tormasoff to know the basis on which Russia felt inclined to negociate a peace. We shall thus gain time—our preparations will go on—and before the messenger returns from Tiflis, (counting his absence at least at twenty-five days) we shall hear from England, and receive certain intelligence of the line intended to be pursued by the Porte. The Meerza has agreed to adopt this plan.

In the course of the conference, the Meerza made strong complaints against our people at Bushire, who, he says, are erecting a kind of fort, for which purpose a vessel lately arrived there with strong materials. He stated that the King had sent down a person secretly to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. Captain Paisley, he added, also had informed the King *that Sir Harford had been recalled from home*—and from other circumstances, Sir Harford suspects that the Government at Tæheran have given leave to the Captain to come up.

13. Meerza Bozurg had a long conference with Sir Harford, in his room; when, on account of their long and intimate acquaintance, Sir H. was informed of the following circumstances by the Meerza:—that he had left Tæheran with the Shah's commands to negociate a peace, or accept an armistice with Russia, if offered by the latter, *without delay*. The Shah's reasons for this were:—

1st. The distracted state of the Turkish Empire; from which circumstance he could expect little assistance from that quarter.

2d. The uncertainty also, of what line of conduct the Porte would ultimately adopt.

3rd. The general cool, not to say unfriendly, past conduct of Persia towards Turkey.

4th. Under these circumstances, the consequence which it is to Persia to obtain an armistice, even for the shortest time.

5th. *The suspicions the Shah entertained of the good faith of the British Government,* who had recalled Sir Harford, and were erecting a fort within the Persian territories.

These, he said, were all the principal reasons which determined the Shah *to look after himself,* for his own defence; which he could not better do than by a peace with Russia, which would give him time to arrange his affairs, and recruit his army.

The Meerza added—that being now, however, (*i. e.* since his departure from Tæheran) convinced, by the dispatches Sir Harford had received from England, of the King's wish to confirm his alliance with Persia,—and that it was the intention of the Porte to send an Ambassador shortly to Tæheran, he would entirely follow Sir Harford's advice in respect to Baron Wrede; and as he was furnished with full powers for that purpose, he would, as Sir H. recommended, keep the matter in hand till Sir H. heard again from England and Constantinople. The Prince Royal, I hear, is very angry at Captain Paisley's permission to advance; and swears, even if he should reach the gates of Tæheran, he shall not be admitted.

14. A courier sent off to Erzeroom with dispatches for Mr. Adair, with the detail of the preceding conferences.

15. In the evening, Hyder Ally Khan (*i. e.* the Mehmander) waited on Sir Harford with the following communications from Meerza Bozurg.

That the Meerza is just come from a conference with Baron Wrede—in which he had opened to him the plan suggested to the Meerza on the 11th. To this Baron Wrede has objected; and said, he cannot wait the result of such a proceeding—and proposed that either the Meerza, or some other person of rank, should meet General Tormasoff at Sheeragil, or some other place on the frontier.—IN STRICT CONFIDENCE FROM THE MEERZA.—"Two "Russian Generals have been sent with troops and money to the "Lesghi Tartars and the people of Daghistan, in order either to "force them to obedience, or purchase their alliance. Should "they succeed, Russia would so establish her power on the north-"ern and western frontier of Persia, that the whole country would "be open to her."

It is to prevent this (as I understood it) that Hyder Ally Khan is now come to *ask Sir Harford's consent* that Meerza Bozurg should agree to a meeting with General Tormasoff on the frontier. Sir Harford's answer was short and decisive. "In the "present state of our affairs I cannot give my consent to anything "which is likely to afford cause of suspicion to Turkey, however "it may be pressed upon us by passing events. I rely that this "my opinion is not directly or indirectly communicated to the "Baron, as it may put me *hors de combat* to render future service "to you, should the world turn round."

16. Meerza Hassan, the Prince's Minister, waited on Sir Harford, on the part of his father, and by command of the Prince.—He said Meerza Bozurg had been so often, and so strongly pressed by Baron Wrede to meet General Tormasoff on the frontier, and was so strongly assured by him that if such meeting took place, everything would be amicably settled, that the Meerza, considering the tenor of the King's instructions, had gone into the following points, which Sir Harford, in the conference of the 11th, had laid down as absolutely necessary to be conceded by Russia.

1st. That Persia, in all discussions with Russia relative to a definitive treaty of peace, would not admit or listen to any propositions which might tend to infringe her treaties with England.

2nd. That a direct negative shall be put on any article which even tends to the readmission of a French Mission or French Agents at Tæheran, or in Persia.

3rd. That the passage of foreign troops through Persia would never be consented to.

4th. That Persia would invariably reserve to herself the unqualified right, even in times of peace, of making all warlike preparations she should judge necessary; and also of receiving every assistance in warlike stores, &c. from the King of England, which he should be inclined to afford her.

That the Baron had said all these points would be conceded to Persia by Russia.

Meerza Hassan then talked of the distracted state of the Turkish Empire, and consequently the little assistance which could be expected from that quarter. He then went into a detail of the

military improvements Persia had made, and was daily making—the levy, in different parts of the Empire, of twenty thousand additional troops, to be sent into Azarbaijan, and put under the command of the Prince.

He next adverted to the conduct of the Governor-General, who it was most likely would continue to do all he could to perplex the Persian Ministers and myself. He then mentioned the affair of Taulish —and therefore the possibility of Mustafa Khan calling to his aid the Russians—he again adverted to Turkey, and said, "There is "but little possibility of her being long able to resist the united "demands of Russia, Austria, and France. That the proposition "suggested by Sir H., of writing to Tormasoff, that Meerza "Bozurg, under the circumstances above detailed, was inclined to "meet Tormasoff on the frontier, for which he once more re-"quested *Sir Harford's consent.*"

Sir Harford, in reply—As the Minister of a faithful, and he must add, a powerful ally, he saw with great satisfaction the confidence the Shah and his Ministers reposed in him, which it would always be his endeavour to merit, and never to abuse.

That upon the abstract proposition of the proposed meeting, he would only give an opinion as a friend, and not as a Minister; that therefore his assent or dissent to it must be regarded as no other than a *private opinion between friends.*

That the effects of precipitancy were often irremediable.

That the following considerations were worthy of the most serious examination.

1st. Was it not the policy of Persia so to shape her transactions with Russia, as might best agree with the treaties she had formed, or might form, with other states.

2d. That if the question on the *tapis* related only to Russia and Persia, it would be much easier of solution.

3rd. That there are now only two great Mohammedan kingdoms in the world—that what is injurious to the one, must be so to the other—that when one of them falls, the other must quickly follow, or sink into subjection;—this principle should never be lost sight of by Persia in her transactions with Russia.

4th. That certain bases ought to fixed, before the meeting was

acceded to; and that, something more should be obtained, than was contained in Gen. Tormasoff's letter, "*and you will see perhaps we shall be inclined* " *to do more than you imagine.*" The Shah's dignity, and Meerza Bozurg's rank in the Empire, should not be committed on words so vague.

5th. That the bare fact of such a meeting would be of the highest advantage to Russia, let the meeting end how it would—*for it would excite the jealousy of Turkey.* Russia would then be able to say to the Porte, " Do not expect any assistance from " Persia, for see, she is supplicating peace from us." May not this also be made use of to accelerate a peace between Turkey and Russia; and then it will not be difficult to imagine the language she will hold to you. It seems, therefore, the policy of both, that neither should conclude a *separate peace with Russia.*

6th. The convenience and inconvenience, the advantage and disadvantage, of an armistice with Russia at the present moment, must be considered separately.

Sir Harford then went on to say,—

" Doubtless you will ask why I expect Turkey will continue the " present war with Russia. I will tell you. She has only the " choice left of either delivering herself, with her hands tied, to " Russia and France, or to make a vigorous effort to preserve her " independence, which last, by the information which I received " from Mr. Adair, she seems to have determined on. England is " deeply interested to preserve the integrity of the Turkish and " Persian Empires. Besides, if the Turks had any real intention " of making peace with Russia, Mr. Adair, who is so much in " the confidence of the Ottoman Ministry, would have known it, " and would, as far as was proper, have imparted it to me. It will " never be by my counsel, nor by my consent, that Persia puts " herself in the condition of struggling single-handed with Russia. " I know what that must come to. Neither will it be by my " counsel, nor by my consent, that Persia remains a spectator " while Turkey struggles for her existence. I know, also, what " that must come to.

" You have taken some pains to impress on my mind the former " conduct of Turkey towards Persia;—on this it is neither my

" duty nor my business to enter—though I may be permitted to " say, supposing all you put forth to be the real state of the case, " Turkey seems not to have known her own interests—but at all " events, Turkey was then unconnected with you by any specific " treaties, and she undoubtedly had a right to pursue that line of " conduct she thought best. The case, thank God, is now fast " approaching to an alteration. A Turkish Minister is actually " on the road—will soon be here—and it may be of the utmost " consequence to keep yourselves unfettered till he arrives; and at " all events to preserve such an appearance of things as shall give " him no cause of jealousy when he does arrive.

" The vague expressions in Tormasoff's letter—the urgent haste " of Baron Wrede, all supply my mind with food for doubt. If " you ask me for counsel here it is.

" Let a letter to the following purport be dispatched to General " Tormasoff:—

" That Baron Wrede has made to the Persian Court the commu- " nications entrusted to him by General Tormasoff—that the wishes " which Russia has expressed to put a stop to the effusion of blood " between the two countries, is equally desired by Persia—that " Persia has foreign connections with other countries which she is " bound to respect, and whom, perhaps, she is bound to consult— " but, probably, those states, considering Russia and Persia to be " neighbours, would throw no obstacles in the way to any measure, " which had for its object the stopping of the effusion of human " blood. This consideration makes it necessary that General Tor- " masoff should acquaint the court of Teheran, whether a specific " treaty, or an armistice, is contemplated by Russia:—in the first " case, the leading conditions must be mutually communicated, and " if agreed on, plenipotentiaries will be immediately appointed. " About an armistice, Persia has no difficulty on these conditions;— " the military forces, during it, to remain *in statuo quo;* and Russia " to forbear, and strictly to prohibit, all intercourse with any of the " Shah's discontented subjects. The answer to such a letter as this, " will let us into the true nature of the designs of Russia—and such " a letter may be communicated to the Turkish Minister when he " arrives, without the smallest scruple or disadvantage."

17. Sir Harford had an audience of the Prince, to whom he shewed the draft of his letters to the Minister at Tæheran, founded on the opinions he has expressed at the various conferences:—the Prince told him, "Ambassador, you are right; as long as Turkey "continues the war, no peace shall be made with Russia."

Sir Harford, in his letter to Meerza Sheffee, noticed the building said to be erecting at Bushire—told him he had no information regarding it, and, therefore, could not believe the report to be true—if, on the contrary, it was true, and the building was offensive to the King, he would issue instant orders for its removal.

20. The whole mission, by invitation, dined with Meerza Bozurg. After dinner, the Meerza and Sir Harford retired; Sir H. desired me to accompany him. The Meerza said, that since Meerza Hassan's conference with Sir Harford, he himself had had another conference with Baron Wrede, in which the Baron had told him: "Russia, in the event of peace, would no longer "insist on the Arras for a boundary, neither would she claim the "cities and countries adjoining Erivan and Nackshivan,—that she "would either give up to the King, or force all the Mohammedan "inhabitants of Georgia to expatriate—that, if this did not suit "the sentiments of the Persian Court, Russia would propose the "total evacuation of Georgia, on condition that Persia would in-"demnify her for all the expenses she had been at, in the erection "of forts, &c. &c., since the country first came into her "possession." The Meerza said, he was astonished at this offer, and asked the Baron what were the views of Russia in now offering Persia terms of peace so different from any she had hitherto held out. The Baron replied, "he would frankly tell "him, that Russia had become jealous of the designs of France—"that she had very little doubt, whenever the opportunity offered, "that Bonaparte would treat her in the same manner in which he "had behaved to all his other allies,—that Russia, piquing her-"self on her regard to, and strict observance of, treaties, did not "like to begin the matter first; but she was certain that at the "moment when Napoleon returned from Spain, he would attack "her; and she, therefore, wished to settle all her matters in this "quarter first, that she might be enabled to repel him with her

" whole force." The Meerza said, that before the Baron commenced this speech, he ordered every one with him to quit the room, and went out himself to see if any one was in the antichamber, or listening at the window.

The Meerza said, he was so much astonished at this declaration of the Baron, that for some time he could not answer him, as he concluded the Baron meant to deceive him;—at last he said " how does this agree with what you told me of Russia, France, " and Austria, determining to make common war on Turkey, and " to divide it between them ?"—" This is another thing," said the Baron—" we look on the Turkish Empire as a kind of rotten " mass that is crumbling to pieces; and if we do not interfere in " the business, France will get the largest share, and augment her " present gigantic power to the conquest of all Europe. Could we " suppose that Turkey could stand against France, there is nothing " the Court of St. Petersburgh would desire so much as an alliance " with her." The Meerza said, " the more he thought on what " had passed at his late conference with Baron Wrede, the more " he was puzzled, and impressed with an idea, all was not right " at bottom; and that he would advise the Prince, as well as the " ministry at Tæheran, to be extremely guarded and watchful on " the subject."

Sir Harford said, " This is particularly necessary. I am puzzled " like yourself—the misunderstanding between Russia and France " has been so long given out, without any apparent evidence of its " being true, that I begin to consider it as a trick. If Russia is " really alarmed at the encreasing power of France, and wishes " to circumscribe it, why did she lose the opportunity after the " glorious battle of Asperne, of joining her forces to those of " Austria? Besides, if the sentiments of Russia are really such " as the Baron describes, would she pursue the conduct she is at " present pursuing towards England?—would General Tormasoff " indulge himself as he has done in a violent tirade on the dis- " tresses of England to the Prince? Would Russia wait till " Bonaparte has settled the affairs of Spain, which, if he does " successfully, France will become ten times more formidable than " she is at present?" Sir Harford added, " I am far from thinking

" that the day will not come, when Russia will heartily repent the " furtherance she has given to the ambitious designs of Bonaparte; " but at present I must say I see no symptoms of her entertaining " such sentiments."

21. Baron Wrede dispatched a messenger to Teflis.

24. Meerza Hassan sent to inform Sir Harford that the Prince had declined giving any answer to Tormasoff by that messenger, as he had referred the whole matter to the Ministry at Tæheran, and determined to wait their answer. Hyder Ally Khan, who brought this message, added, the Prince had desired him to tell Sir Harford, that he had sent for Baron Wrede, and told him, that he himself in the spring should be on the frontier, when he would ask for General Tormasoff to meet him. Hyder Ally was desired to tell Sir Harford, *in confidence*, that the Baron had yesterday received a messenger from General Tormasoff with letters, expressing his surprise that he had not heard from him since his arrival at Tauris, and desiring immediately to know what turn the affair under his management was likely to take.

27. Tartars arrived from Constantinople with letters to the Prince. By this opportunity Sir H. also heard from Mr. Adair, who is making up a packet, which he will dispatch in three days.

28. Private conference between Meerza Bozurg and Sir Harford, at which, as Sir H. afterwards told me, the Meerza disclosed to him every thing they had just received from their agent at Constantinople. The bulk of which was a prodigious exaggeration of the French force, and the most dismal and distressing account of the Turkish Empire.* The Meerza added, " in con- " sequence of this, he had this morning sent for Baron Wrede, " with a view to get some farther light thrown on the confused " dispatches they had received from their agent—that in the course " of conversation, the Baron told him, that the Russians only " waited the breaking up of the season to commence an attack on " Constantinople; and that, in fact, he considered the attack as " already commenced." After some time, the Baron put the fol-

* Sir Harford suspects that either from ignorance, or some other cause, this man is not doing his duty—but he waits farther proof before he expresses a wish for his removal.

lowing question to him:—"*In the event of our evacuating "Georgia, will you consent to confine your alliance with foreign "states to Russia alone?*" The Meerza said he replied, "As far "as he had ever read or heard of Persian history, Persia could "never be accused of infringing any treaty she had made with "a foreign state." The Baron replied, "you lately made treaty "with France, and you broke it."—"It was not Persia that broke "it, but France—the essence of that treaty, was the restitution of "Georgia. France either would not, or could not, perform her "promise. We determined not to be trifled with longer, and "formed an alliance with England; and we daily expect the "ratification of this treaty—and you may be sure when it comes, "Persia *will most steadily abide by it.*"

The Meerza said Baron Wrede had told Fath Ally Khan, the Governor of Tauris, that the French in India had taken a large part of the English possessions there; which, on being asked whether he had said so or no, he positively denied. "This," the Meerza added, "has given me a very bad impression not only of "the Baron's sense, but of his veracity." He likewise told Fath Ally Khan that the causes of Russia and France were two separate things, and he expressed the greatest abhorrence of French principles.

The Meerza then said, "you know I keep nothing from you, "and I will now in the strictest confidence tell you a most extra-"ordinary thing.

"When M. Jouanin, on his last departure from Tauris, arrived "on the Turkish frontier, he heard of Baron Wrede's re-appoint-"ment to this place, and he gave in charge to the person directed "to see him out of the Persian territories, the following message "for me:—

"'Tell Meerza Bozurg I shall never forget his kindness to me, "and as a proof of it, I advise him to beware of Russia—nor "trust one word that Baron Wrede, who is now re-appointed to "Tauris, shall tell him; Russia's object is to deceive and cajole "the court of Teheran. Let him therefore be on his guard against "the Baron; this tell him as a proof of my friendship and grati-"tude for his numerous civilities to me; but tell him I can never

" forget nor forgive the harsh disagreeable manner in which his " son Meerza Hassan caused me to be turned out of Tauris, on " my last arrival there. As soon as the Chevalier Jones put his " foot in Persia, I knew our influence with Meerza Bozurg was " at an end; I foresaw the English influence would be omnipotent, " and I found it so; but Meerza Hassan might have managed " my removal in a different manner; however, my regard for " Meerza Bozurg induces me to bid him beware of listening to " any overtures from Russia, whose only object is to deceive him " and the court of Persia.' "

In continuation, the Meerza said, that by the Baron's messenger he had a letter from a person *secretly* employed at Teflis, stating that General Tormasoff had written to the Baron, immediately after the arrival of a courier from St. Petersburgh, that several detachments of Russian troops were ordered to reinforce the Russian army in Georgia

Sir Harford declined to enter into any farther exposition of his sentiments until the arrival of the Tartar from Constantinople, whom he daily expects, and confined himself to recommending to Meerza Bozurg the utmost caution in his conferences with Baron Wrede.

11th of March. Private and secret audience of the Prince. What I know of it, the Prince said the Russians had received great reinforcement in Georgia, afraid that their immediate object was an attack on Kars; the inhabitants of which had complained of the tyranny and bad conduct of Kara Bey their governor; that such was the state of the whole Turkish frontier, that he feared if Kars was attacked, it must fall an easy prey to the Russians; and if so, it would become a post of infinite consequence to them; that he was quite puzzled how to act, for although the Porte had in some measure put the affairs of Kars under his direction, yet, if he now sent a body of troops for its support, the Turks might view such a measure with suspicion; on the other hand, Kars, without this, if attacked would certainly fall. Sir Harford recommended the Prince to make an *exposé* of the whole affair at Constantinople; the Prince agreed; but said, if in the meantime, Kars is attacked, he would assist the Turks to the

utmost of his power. He told Sir Harford to dine with Meerza Bozurg, to whom he had given orders to tell him what more he wished him to know.

At the dinner I hear that the Meerza told Sir Harford that since he had seen him, he had had two more conferences with Baron Wrede, who continued his expressions of Russia being ready to grant all that the King of Persia desired, which the Meerza said only tended to increase his suspicions of the Baron. That the whole of Tormasoff's proceedings were in direct opposition to the Baron's assertions; that magazines in Georgia had been established by the Russians; that they had received great reinforcements; that their troops were stationed in three different detachments on the frontier. 1st. At Shorragil and Pumbek, from whence they could act against Erivan or Kars; 2nd, at Carabaug; 3rd, on the confines of the valuable district of Taulish; that the detachment at Carabaug was so near Fath Ally Khan, that he expected to hear every moment that the two parties had come to blows, and that the Khan had, this evening, by an express messenger, solicited assistance.

Sir Harford told me the Meerza said:—"the moment the confer-"ences here, with Baron Wrede, are broken off, they can attack "us with the greatest advantage; I know the danger of trusting to "the Baron, but what is to be done?" He said the present Persian army at Tauris was confined to six regiments only; the Prince during the winter, not having the means to keep up a greater force; the little opposition such a handful of troops could make against the force likely to be opposed to them; and the little probability there appeared of receiving any assistance in stores, &c. from us, during the campaign. He entered then, Sir Harford said, on a most bitter tirade against the Indian Government, who, instead of acting, as they ought to have done, had sent letters and persons, stating themselves to be possessed of characters, and authorities, which confounded and embarrassed the whole court, as well as myself, and made England and Persia look ridiculous in the eyes of their neighbours. He said a muster-roll had been sent to the Shah, for 50,000 men, which he had determined to place in different parts of the province, and besides this, to raise a levy *en masse* (*Eel-jaury.*)

Sir Harford told me the Meerza farther said :—that in his last conference with Baron Wrede, the latter made to him the extraordinary proposition of permitting the Governors on the frontiers to determine to which power they would attach themselves, Russia or Persia, and that each state should promise not to interfere after the choice was made ;—this the Meerza explicitly rejected.

Sir Harford told him he declined any farther expression of his sentiments or advice, till the arrival of the expected Tartar; but that if the Meerza thought the Shah would receive the assistance he expected from Bengal, one moment sooner for his absence, he would willingly take on himself the heavy responsibility of moving without his sovereign's permission, and depart:—that the Meerza exclaimed: "God Almighty forbid! this will indeed make bad "worse!" Sir Harford told *me in great confidence*, that as money was much wanted, he had advised that the Prince should request of the Shah, that the Ameen-ed-dowlah should be sent to him directly; this he agreed too, and these letters are to be dispatched to-morrow.

18. A dispatch from India and Bushire. General Malcolm, accompanied by a numerous suite, arrived at Bushire, on the 13th of February. He has brought with him 35,000 stand of arms, and a number of other things, for the use of the Persian army. Sir Harford received a letter from Lord Minto, ordering him *immediately to withdraw*, and telling him that he had written a letter to the Shah, soliciting His Majesty to grant Sir Harford permission to do so.

The next day the Prince sent for Sir Harford to conference; I attended him. The Prince shewed him the Shah's letters, in which his Majesty lays down the conduct he means to pursue in respect to General Malcolm's Mission, which is to keep him two months more at Bushire, by which time His Majesty expects to hear from Meerza Abdul Hassan, from England. When these arrive, he will summon Sir Harford to the presence, and follow such advice as he shall give.

19. Hyder Ally Khan from the Prince, with a firman from the Shah to the Prince, ordering Meerza Bozurg immediately to repair to the frontier, and open conferences with Tormasoff, for peace or

an armistice. Sir Harford told Hyder Ally, to recommend, from him to the Meerza, if possible, to delay commencing his journey till after the arrival of the Tartar from Constantinople.

20. Meerza Bozurg sent to say, as soon as the festival of the Nourouze had been celebrated, he wished to have a long conference with Sir Harford.

21. Eyde-e-Nourouze, on which occasion the Prince sent each gentleman of the Mission twenty tomans, in new small gold coin, a Chashmire shawl, and a rich piece of brocade. He sent sweetmeats to Sir Harford, round which were placed two hundred tomans, in new small gold coins,

22. Tartar at length arrives from Constantinople. News from England good. The whole Mission went to the palace, to compliment the Prince on the Eyde, and to return him thanks.

23. Sir Harford in conference with Meerza Bozurg the whole day. *Pieces of what I know.* Meerza Bozurg went over the same ground, respecting an armistice with Russia, as has been already detailed; and concluded by saying, a decision now pressed so earnestly, that it was necessary that it should be communicated to the Baron without delay. Sir Harford said the Meerza knew how anxiously he, Sir Harford, had, for some days, expected the arrival of the Tartar; the Tartar had arrived, but the intelligence he had brought, was by no means as full as he could have wished, if, he said, he could persuade himself, after all he had seen and heard, that Russia was sincere, he should consider himself bound to refrain from saying a word which would prevent its completion,—because the King of Persia had declared he thought such a measure *absolutely necessary for the security of the empire*,—" but, remember, I tell " you *as a friend, and privately*, you will go, and not only do " nothing, but you will do worse than nothing.

" It is my duty, however, to submit to you, that from the infor- " mation Mr. Adair has given me, there cannot be a doubt as to the " line of conduct the Porte has determined to pursue; she is deter- " mined to attempt the recovery of Wallachia and Moldavia, so that " if an armistice is concluded at this moment, her Eastern frontier " will be cruelly laid open to invasion from the Russians."—From what Sir Harford said, the Meerza again became puzzled, and at

length to Sir Harford's astonishment, *he determined to commit the solution of the difficulty to a Fahl from the Khoran, to be taken between midnight and the morning prayer*, promising to give Sir Harford the earliest intelligence of its result. Late in the evening, Hyder Ally brought Sir Harford word that a Firman had arrived from the King, which rendered the consultation of the *fahl* unnecessary, His Majesty having determined to adopt the sentiments expressed in Sir Harford's letter to Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, of the 13th of February.

Sir Harford went to Meerza Bozurg, and I accompanied him; there is some difference in the explanation the Meerza gave of the King's Firman, to that given by Hyder Ally Khan, but it is now agreed that the whole affair is, to-morrow, to be discussed in the presence of the Prince, the Sirdar of Erivan, Meerza Bozurg, and Sir Harford.

25. Sir Harford employed in secret discussion at the palace the whole day. I learn it is determined Meerza Bozurg should accept the conference with Tormasoff, and that an account of the whole proceedings and reasonings, *pro* and *con*, should be transmitted to the Porte. This was proposed by Sir Harford. What turned the Council, I hear, was Meerza Bozurg, engaging for three things:—

1st. That the affair of Taulish, which is of infinite importance, might, by this means, be settled to our satisfaction.

2nd. That as long as the conference lasted, no attack should be made by Russia on the Turkish frontier.

3rd. That the Meerza would break off the conference the moment it should be certified that the Porte would heartily join Persia, unless he could turn it into a recognition for peace, between Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

28. A packet containing the whole of the proceedings above detailed, was this day dispatched to Constantinople.

29. The Prince reviewed the troop — all present—he gave Willock a sword, and the Indian officers medals. The Prince, after the review, amused himself with feats of horsemanship. He rides better than any man I have seen in the country, and is most wonderfully active. When he presented the Indian officers with medals, he said :—

" My friends! you have taken a great deal of trouble for me;
" Persia grants these medals as a reward of merit. When you
" shall return to your own country, I hope you will not forget *me*
" and *mine*."

May 15, 1810. Sir Harford, this day, by the express desire of the Prince, drew up, and delivered to him, the project of an armistice, and for a treaty of peace, which, as far as I recollect was as follows.*

(These are not necessary to lay before the public.)

NOTE XIX.

" *Now nothing*."—Page 314.

The following extract will satisfy the reader how easy of execution this grand and most important project of Meerza Bozurg would have been.

" Il n'exige pas de Tribut des Arméniens et des autres Chré-
" tiens étrangers qui viennent négocier dans ses Etats, quoique le
" Grand Seigneur le fasse payer rigoureusement aux Chrétiens
" Persans quand ils passent par la Turquie pour venir trafiquer
" dans l'Europe. De sorte qu'on peut dire avec justice, qu'au lieu
" que ceux qui font profession du Christianisme gémissent dans
" l'empire Ottoman sous une dure servitude, ils goûteroient dans
" la Perse, si la volonté du Prince y estoit exactement suivie, une
" douce liberté."—*Sanson, Relation de Perse, p.* 14.

NOTE XX.

" *The crown is very heavy*."—Page 382.

As a proof of this I relate a fact, to which I was witness. At our audience of ceremony, I happened to be the last of the Mission who went out of the door of the chamber in which it was given. Something, I know not what, caused me to turn my head round, (which certainly was not quite correct) but I saw one of the favorite Georgian taking the crown off the King's head, and another place an embroidered handkerchief over the bare head. I was told, from good authority, that it is with considerable pain only, that the Shah bears this envied ornament on his head for longer than twenty minutes.

* The conference between the Meerza and Baron Wrede took place; but ended in nothing, as had been predicted.

NOTE XXI.

" *Moomiahah.*"—Page 400.—Chardin, *Voyage, tom.* iv. *p.* 38.

" Cinquièmement, il y a la Mumie, et il y en a de deux sortes " en Perse. L'une est la Mumie communément dite, qui vient " des corps embaumez, et enterrez dans le sable aride et ardent, où " dans la suite des siécles ils se pétrifient, comme cela est connu " de tous les curieux. Cette Mumie, qui n'est proprement que la " petrefaction des corps embaumez depuis quelque deux mille ans, " à ce qu'on assure en Perse, se trouve en Corasson qui est l'anci- " enne Bactrianne. Un Vizir de la Province, nommé Mirza- " chefy, homme fort savant, m'a dit plusieurs fois qu'on trouvoit " dans le sable, lors qu'on travailloit aux canaux souterrains, " pour le transport de l'eau, de ces Mumies, longues de sept à huit " pieds, soit que les corps fussent plus grands alors, soit qu'on " prît plaisir de les ensevelir, ou emmailloter, plus grands qu'ils " n'étoient, pour l'admiration de la posterité. Il ajoûtoit, qu'on " trouvoit ces corps encore couverts de poil à la tête et au menton, " avec les ongles aux mains et aux pieds, ayant le visage si peu " alteré, que les traits étoient reconnoissables. Il me disoit là- " dessus, que nôtre corps ressemble à une éponge, et que si l'on " en ôte le sang et les parties nobles qui sont trop humides, et " qu'on les seiche, on les conservera plusieurs siécles. Le terroir de " la Bactrianne est un sable chaud et aride, fort propre à conser- " ver, et à petrifier ainsi les corps. L'autre Mumie est une Gomme " précieuse, qui distille de la roche. Il y en a deux mines, ou " deux sources, en Perse. L'une dans la Caramanie déserte, au " païs de Sar, et c'est la meilleure; car on assure que quelque " moulu, brisé, ou fracassé, qu'un corps humain puïsse être, une " demie dragme de cette Mumie le rétablit en vingt quatre heures; " de quoi personne ne doute en Perse, sur l'expérience des cures " merveilleuses qu'ils font tous les jours avec cette précieuse " drogue. L'autre mine est au païs de Corasson, qui est l'anci- " enne Bactrianne, où je veins de dire qu'il y a aussi des Mumies " de corps humains, comme en Egypte. Les roches, dont la " vraye Mumie distille appartiennent au roi, et tous ce qui " en distille est pour lui. Elles sont fermées de cinq céaux

" des principaux Officiers de la Province. On n'ouvre la " mine qu'une fois l'an, en présence de ces Officiers, et de plu- " sieurs autres encore, et tout ce qui se trouve de ce précieux mastic, " ou la plus grande partie, s'envoye au trésor du Roi, d'où, avec un " peu de crédit, on en tire dans le besoin. Le mot de Mumie est " Persan, venant de Moum, qui signifie Cire, Gomme, Onguent. " Les Hébreux et les Arabes se servent de ce nom dans la même " ignification. Les Persans disent que le Prophète Daniel leur a " enseigné la préparation et l'usage de la Mumie.

NOTE XXII.

" *Paying the Effendi very acceptable attentions.*"—Page 401.

I had already done this on his arrival in Persia, by sending Sir James Sutherland to meet him on the Persian frontier, beyond Erivan; and I must say, that Sir James's amiable manners not only made him a great favorite with the Effendi, but also that Sir James's prudence and judgment kept the Persians of the lower classes from behaving rudely to him on the road.

NOTE XXIII.

" *Patrons and Clients.*"—Page 426.

The early part of the morning appears in ancient Rome to have been appropriated to such attendance.

" Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
" *Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*"—HORACE.

NOTE XXIV.

" *And when to be still.*"—Page 433.

This appears to have been an early error in the East;—" neither " shall you use enchantments, nor observe times."—*Levit.* xix. v. 26. The *Sortes Virgilianæ* every school-boy knows.

NOTE XXV.

" *On which it stands.*"—Page 445.

The Russians attacked it on the opposite side.

NOTE XXVI.

" *Gains a loss.*"—Page 433.

The following extract will shew how careful the Persians have uniformly been on the subject of the purity of their coin.

" Il y a trois ans que le roi (Shah Suleiman) faisant travailler à la " reformation de la Monnoye, eut avis qu'on ne trouvoit pas d'argent " pour faire de nouvelles especes, parce que les Armeniens ne voyant " pas qu'il y eût pour eux un gain assez considerable à apporter les " Reux de Seville dans ses Etats, les faisoient passer aux Indes par " la voye de Balsora; le Roy fit appeller les principaux de cette " nation, et les condamna à cent mille écus d'amende, si on pou- " vait prouver contr'eux qu'ils eussent continué à faire transporter " les écus d'Espagne aux Indes. Cependant comme ils avoient " déja à Balsora huit cent mille écus Seviliens, Van Leenen, " Ambassadeur d'Hollande, dont je parlerai dans la suite, leur " offrit de la faire charger s'ils vouloient cette somme sur un Vaisseau, " et il s'engagea de faire pssser directement aux Indes sans mouiller " en Perse, mais il ne leur tint pas parole. Son vaisseau vint " jetter l'ancre au Bandar Abassi, et le grand Douanier se saisit de " l'argent des Armeniens. Cet Ambassadeur qui estoit à la Cour " ne fit pas une démarche pour en solliciter la main-levée, ce qui " le fit soupçonner d'avoir voulu faire sa Cour aux dépens de ces " pauvres Chrétiens; mais le Roy dans cette occasion porta sa bonté " jusqu'à l'excés; car pouvant confisquer cet argent, et faire payer " de plus aux Armeniens l'amende de cent mille écus, il leur en " donna la mainlevé qu'ils n'osoient luy demander, pour ne pas " ajouter à cette perte, le payement de l'amende à laquelle ils " avaient esté condamnez."—*Voyage ou Relation de l'Etat présent de Perse, par Sanson, p.* 12.

TO MY WATCH.

Tic-tac—Tic-tac.

'Tis thus thou measurest out the time
I have on earth to stay,
And shew'st me with thy tiny chime
T' eternal life the way.

O may thy warning voice bring forth
Each thought that God approves!
Tell me of vice the little worth,
Compar'd with what he loves.

'Tis as the river to the ocean,
Or as the clod to sense and motion,
Or as confusion to serenity—
It is as Time is to Eternity.

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